Daily Report

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Yugoslavia

Bosnia-Hercegovina—TANJUG published the text of the agreement signed by the three major political parties in Sarajevo during the fifth round of the EC-sponsored peace negotiations on the principles for a constitutional solution. The agreement stipulates three main tenants: "1. Bosnia-Hercegovina is envisaged as a state comprising three constitutive units, based on principles of nationality, with regard to economic, geographic, and other criteria. 2. Bosnia-Hercegovina will continue to exist within the framework of its present borders and neither the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina nor the governments of the constitutive units will either encourage or support claims by neighboring states against any part of its territory. 3. Its sovereignty rests with its citizens of Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian nationality and of other nations and nationalities who realize it by their civic membership in the constitutive units and the republic's central organs."

Poland

The Foreign Ministry delivered a demarche to Lithuania in response to its "failure" to set a date for local elections in areas inhabited by ethnic Poles, Warsaw TV reports. A Polish Foreign Ministry official told the Lithuanian charge d'affaires in Warsaw that this is "contrary to the spirit" of the Polish-Lithuanian agreement signed recently, according to PAP. The official also said that Poland is "concerned" about a Lithuanian prosecutor's report that six members of the Lithuanian Supreme Council are engaged in "actions aimed to violate Lithuania's sovereignty," and added that "such steps" will not improve bilateral relations.

In an interview with GAZETA WYBORCZA, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski responds to what he calls "primitive manipulation by the press." He claims that RZECZPSOPOLITA has published articles about the government which are "pathological" and "cannot be tolerated." He maintains that the government has been criticized by "political forces that identify with the old order" and that it "bears no relation to... official government positions." Olszewski added that the government "is not making a tragedy out of the Sejm's rejection of its economic policy principles, although it shows what degree of support the government has." RZECZPOSPOLITA "which was once the government press organ" is currently owned by a company in which the government holds shares, the report states.

Romania-Hungary

ROMPRES reports that Defense Minister Nicolae Spiroiu hopes for continued "good relations" between the Romanian and Hungarian armies. "We try to remove any tension... caused especially by stirring up ideas regarding the minorities' right to self-determination." Spiroiu hopes to provide "transparency to remove the suspicion" through the use of the media. Budapest radio reports that at a Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs press briefing "a whole series of further accusations were voiced against Hungary." Spokesman Gheorghe Tinca was quoted as saying that Hungary "tries to make use of the minority problem to make its territorial claims in Romania prevail, and as long as this practice goes on, Budapest's intensified anti-Romanian campaign will not end either. Thus it is Hungary that is responsible for the worsening of the two countries' relations."

Czechoslovakia

According to CSTK, Chief Editor Zdenek Porybny, of the "leftist" daily RUDE PRAVO, was detained by federal police on 16 March "pending a court decision." RUDE PRAVO staff "sharply protested" their chief editor's detention and the "political intimidation of the press in Czechoslovakia" claiming that "the real cause of this repressive step" against the paper is "revenge for its critical articles" on events in Czechoslovakia, CSTK reports. In a statement to Prague radio, the Ministry of Interior spokesman explained that "criminal proceedings" are being launched against Porybny for "the crimes of fraud and illegal business practice." Porybny allegedly created the Borgis joint stock company and transferred all RUDE PRAVO publishing business to that company thus obtaining profits for himself and other shareholders and causing damages to the state "of at least 24 billion korunas," the spokesman said.

Alia Questioned on Reforms, Upcoming Elections

PM1803100992 Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 11 Mar 92 p 5

[Interview with Albanian President Ramiz Alia by Khalid Taha in Tirana; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Taha] Your Excellency Mr. President, after many years of isolation imposed on them, the Albanian people have started to cast off the shackles of those years. You recently led the country toward steps of openness both domestically and abroad. To what extent have you succeeded in overcoming the negative aspects of the past so far?

[Alia] Undoubtedly the previous one party leadership meant domination of all political and economic spheres. And of course, its effects were evident in all spheres, as it did not give any political forces in the country the opportunity to participate in their management, even with one word. Nor did it allow the Albanian people to work and strive for the sake of the homeland's progress.

And today we see major changes, whether in Europe or in other parts of world. The cold war has ended, the international atmosphere as a whole has changed, and so has the nature of relations between states. Before, Albania lived in complete international isolation. And until 1978 we have had no links except with China alone, politically and economically. Then our economic ties were severed, and Albania started relying on its own capabilities and natural resources alone. And whatever our capabilities, we are not a "heavy weight" state, which is why all these circumstances led to the present difficult situation.

In other words, the deteriorating economic situation is the result of the political isolation in which our country lived. On that basis, there was a need to make major changes in both the political and economic spheres. At the political level, there was a need to prepare suitable conditions for party pluralism. At the economic level, there was a need to encourage individual initiatives, move to a market economy, and give up the state run centralized economy. And of course, none of this can be done overnight. So we are now in a transition phase. We have rid ourselves of the old economic methods but have not yet arrived at the final formula we want. We are between the two, and this is the reason for the difficulties still facing us. But despite the difficulties, we still hope that when the market economy begins to operate fully and normally, many of the existing problems will find their way to a solution. [passage omitted]

[Taha] With the approaching elections, some people anticipate the occurrence of unrest or clashes between the conflicting factional groups in Albanian towns, as it happened in the last elections. Do you agree with such expectations? And have you taken sufficient precautions in that regard?

[Alia] Actually, election periods are often difficult and critical in any country. And we must admit that we Albanians are "hot-blooded" and "explode" quickly. This is why it cannot be ruled out that the election period may assume an explosive form, even though this is expected to be limited to dialogues and arguments. But if it goes beyond that and turns into clashes and unrest, we cannot rule out the foreign threat's role, because some elements and forces do not desire stability for Albania. For example, the Serbs are not desirous of Albania's stability. In fact they seek the opposite. And I am completely convinced that the Serbs have had decisive influence in what happened in the past or in the incidents or clashes that are going to happen in the country. This is because they are after domination and control and are suppressing 3 million Albanians in Yugoslavia. This is a reality. [passage omitted]

[Taha] Your Excellency Mr. President, the Albanian Communist Party won the last democratic elections held in the country and is still in power despite developments in East Europe. What is your comment, and how will the hardline tendency be dealt with, especially as you lean toward pursuing a reform policy?

[Alia] True, I lean toward pursuing a reform policy and indeed insist on it. And the best proof of this is the transitional government formed at present. It is working in all directions and pursuing a policy of openness on all fronts. We want now to rescue our country from this fall which will require a great deal of efforts and hardship. With regard to the elections, I will suspend the answer, because the elections will be democratic. [passage omitted]

Democratic Party's Berisha Campaigns Nationwide

Speaks in Kruje District

AU1603205792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] According to a report from the International Service's journalist, Franko Egro, Dr. Sali Berisha, chairman of the Albanian Democratic Party [PD], met peasants of the villages of Gjonem and Burizane in Kruje District on the afternoon of 15 March. After presenting Mrs. Rrushen Golemi as the PD's parliamentary candidate for this area, Dr. Berisha dwelt on some special points of the PD's program for the countryside and answered questions from the peasants present.

Mr. Berisha reiterated that they must not in any way fall prey to the subtle and deceitful propaganda of the Socialist Party. He stressed that this party seeks to win their votes by the psychological terror they are waging in the countryside. We, Berisha said, do not want revanchism. Through these useful meetings, we seek to banish the darkness created by the Socialists. We who expelled the Red beys and restored all the basic human rights to the people do not want to bring the beys back again. We will not allow them to experiment with our desperately impoverished countryside. As soon as it gains power, the

PD has decided to give you long-term credit, not to levy taxes on you for at least two or three years, and to help you with tractors and other machinery, because we think that if you as the majority of the population become wealthy, the whole country will be enriched.

Mr. Berisha then said that organized emigration will be another way to come to the help of the densely populated countryside. We will ask Western countries to give priority to accepting Albanian immigrants for at least five or 10 years, because this will greatly alleviate unemployment.

Asked how they should act toward former large landowners who come and display their old title deeds, Mr. Berisha answered that the PD's parliamentary group fought hard in parliament to approve the present Land Law, so we must always uphold that law. The former landowners' old title deeds are invalid. We intend to compensate them in cash.

The PD chairman also met numerous inhabitants of the town of Mamurras, who received him enthusiastically. Mr. Berisha told those present at the meeting that by voting for the PD, you vote for yourselves, for a final break with the bitter and tragic past, and for democratic Albania.

Speaking on the future of farms, he stressed that they will change radically. We will do away with the present relations that really are slavery, encourage increased production in new ways, and create conditions for cooperation with Western firms and companies.

Mrs. Rrushen Golemi, the PD parliamentary candidate, also spoke at these meetings.

Tours Kavaje Villages

AU1803181092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Democratic Party [PD] Chairman Sali Berisha held meetings with members and supporters of his party in Kavaje District yesterday morning. Many supporters attended these meetings.

Sali Berisha first met the villagers of Lekaj. He told them that he had arrived in Lekaj to tell the people not to vote any more for those who led Albania into its present plight, but to vote for the PD because this is how to vote for democracy, a new democratic Albania, and for freedom and prosperity. He assured them that the beys will never again return, neither the old landowners nor the Red beys. Do not believe slanders.

Berisha then met the villagers of Gos. Here, too, he asked them to vote for the PD. He was also warmly welcomed in the town of Rrogozhine. From there, he went to the village of Kryevidh, where he was given an enthusiastic reception. He called on all those who did not vote for the PD on 31 March [1990] to do so this time around. We must all unite our efforts on 22 March to fully establish democracy in Albania.

Campaigns in Elbasan

AU1803202092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Democratic Party [PD] Chairman Sali Berisha said at a rally in Elbasan today that on 23 March all Albanians will be happier and freer than they have ever been in their history, because democracy will work for all Albanians, regardless of their political convictions. Let us listen to our correspondent Sokol Terihati:

[Terihati, against a background of cheers, shouts, and indistinct portions of Berisha's speech] Dr. Sali Berisha met the citizens of Elbasan today amid scenes of great enthusiasm and in the presence of thousands of people.

After pointing out the city's democratic traditions as a hearth of civilization and culture for all Albania, Mr. Berisha said that he felt among the people of Elbasan a sense of joy at the inevitable victory of democracy over communism. Our hopes and centuries old dreams for a free and democratic Albania, in which you will be masters of your own lives in your own free country, will be realized on 22 March. The communist night was long and the sleep of communism was deep. However, Elbasan with its aspirations for democracy was one of the first places to rouse itself. After half a century of persecution and division, the PD promises you that it will struggle for a free society without persecution or revanchism, a society in which people and human dignity will be at the center of the PD's policies.

Our party will struggle for a democratic Albania that will join civilized Europe as soon as possible, an Albania in which communism will be remembered as a bad dream. The union of all Albanians will start on 22 March. Only free people who believe in God and democracy will be able to build the new democratic Albania and reconcile and unite the nation. The PD, Mr. Berisha concluded, will respect and honor each member of the Albanian electorate, regardless of his political convictions and feelings. We worked for freedom and freedom will work for all Albanians. I invite you all to celebrate on 22 March, and let nobody be downhearted on 23 March, because the victory of democracy is a victory for every Albanian. The Albanians will finally be free and in peace. They will be happier and more united than ever before in their history. [Berisha is heard shouting *Long live the people of Elbasan* amid cheers]

Social Democrat's Gjinushi Views Campaign Aims

AU1803164692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Skender Vaqari report]

[Text] Social Democratic Party [PSDSh] Chairman Skender Gjinushi spoke at today's news conference about the party's aims in the electoral campaign and made some remarks about the conduct of the campaign and the Electoral Law. The PSDSh, he said, considers that the 22 March elections are one of the most delicate

moments in the country's history. These elections are not routine, because a genuinely democratic revolution has taken place in Albania. On 22 March, Albanians must choose between the road of the future that leads to Europe or the road back to the past that leads to isolation.

He stressed that all the political parties in the 22 March elections must obey the rules of democracy and the people's verdict. We must all get rid of the psychology of fear and terror that the events in Pogradec, Lushnje, and Peqin brought into the electoral campaign. They have created a climate of tension and inclined a section of society toward conservatism. The PSDSh, Gjinushi said, enters the electoral campaign as an organized political force with a reputation at home and abroad, with 30,000 members and many branches throughout the country, and as an associate member of the Socialist International. It has fielded 97 parliamentary candidates, able people specialized in various fields of life who will contribute to the future pluralist parliament.

We have said that there are certain weaknesses in the Electoral Law. Nevertheless, the Social Democratic Party puts itself forward in the campaign as an opposition party alongside others, without any sense of inferiority, in the knowledge that it will achieve parliamentary representation only through the votes of the people. At the end of his speech, Gjinushi stressed that the democratic opposition and the PSDSh within this opposition will win a parliamentary majority in the 22 March elections.

Replying to the questions of Albanian and foreign journalists, he then spoke about the shortcomings of the Electoral Law, which in his view favors large parties, and about the PSDSh's admission to the Socialist International, which has been confirmed by its president, Willy Brandt, and by the German, Austrian, French, and Greek Social Democratic parties.

Communist Party Outlines Political Platform

AU1603091392 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1905 12 Mar 92

[Party political broadcast by unidentified representative of the Albanian Communist Party—live or recorded, monitored in progress]

[Text] ... where Albanians do not govern Albania. Here lies the great tragedy, which is the result of a major treachery that has been publicly denounced by us Albanian Communists. The treachery opened every gate to the enemies and enabled fascist-style revanchism to humiliate national pride, to burn and destroy all over the country, to create moral and psychological terror, and to lower the nation's dignity as never before. Like red lightning from the clouds, we let fly a call against demagogic adventurism: The homeland is in danger. Albanians, where are you leading Albania?

While we favor expanding relations with our neighbors and having relations with all states of the world that desire friendly relations with Albania, we categorically object to the inclusion of Albania in military blocs and to allowing foreign military bases on our sacred territory.

As for the question of the homeland's freedom and independence, our program and activity will have as a banner the teachings and instructions of the genius Enver Hoxha, who contributed to the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the homeland as nobody before in the history of this nation. The betrayal of Enver Hoxha does not in any way mean that Albania is finished.

In the Communist Party's [PKSh] program, we hear a clear anthem of support for the Republic of Kosovo and the territorial autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia, Montenegro, and southern Serbia with the prospect of uniting all these territories in a single national state, as well as support for the legitimate human and national rights of the Albanians violently expelled from or living under discrimination in their territories in Cameria.

Our program advocates setting up a law governed state with a democratic legislation and compiling a constitution on the basis of discussion among the entire people. It demands that the sovereignty of the people, as masters of their destinies and of the country, be placed at the foundations of legislation and state activity.

The PKSh aims to resolutely protect national sovereignty and to confront foreign pressures and the corrosive and collaborationist activity of antinational forces inside and outside Albania. Foreign annexationist, expansionist, and protectionist plans and the capitalist reform that is being applied imperil national sovereignty and the living standards of the working people. The PKSh therefore promises not in any way to allow neocolonialist agreements and not to allow the violation of any of the rights earned with blood and sweat, such as everybody's rights to free medical treatment, education, and so on.

As for the question of a social order in which freedom, democracy, and equality prevail and the question of freedom and sovereignty, we communists will not be cheated by the demagogy of fascists clad in the garb of democratic slogans, and will not tremble or kneel before the blackmail of some foreign diplomats. Some of them are Americans, whose democracy, as the great U.S. writer Gore Vidal says, today keeps one million Americans imprisoned and continues to punish people with life imprisonment.

A certain U.S. diplomat recently advised the Albanian president, who is also a friend of his, to open a small shop selling Enver Hoxha's symbols. I would advise this diplomat to ask President Bush to open a great million story clinic inviting all the world's doctors to cure the knees and backbone of the United States, broken by Enver Hoxha for almost 50 years on end in the name of the freedom and independence of this country. Then let

the U.S. President open not only one, but two shops: One selling the countless crimes committed by his predecessors all over the world, and another selling the United States' 50 years of defeats in the face of Enver Hoxha.

The PKSh's program is at the same time a call to arms for the defense of the homeland. It calls on soldiers and patriotic and glorious officers to strengthen their vigilance, discipline, and patriotism, to reestablish control of the border, and to show readiness to defend people, avoiding at all costs the creation of any military caste or any possible militarization of the army.

Seeing that the PKSh has lost the right to proportional representation, and has been obstructed by antinational intentions, considering that the parliament will be pluralist only in name without the participation of Communist deputies, because it will lack a real opposition, or more precisely a real Albanianness, and bearing in mind that the Communist deputies' participation in the parliament is of vital national importance, I use this opportunity to appeal to the patriotic people of Kukes; of the Mirdite of Bardhok Biba and Ndrec Ndue Gjoka; of Gjirokaster; of Dukat and the River Vlore; of the legendary area of Shpirag and of famous Skrapar; of all the areas where our candidates are standing, to vote for the Communist deputies, because by doing so they will vote for the freedom and independence of this betrayed and highly confused people; they will vote for eagles that will not sink to the rank of chickens, because a parliament without Communist eagles could not in any way be an assembly of men, and no justice for the common people could be expected from it.

We have been barbarously sabotaged in the elections, but nevertheless we are not broken. If the Paris Commune survived 73 days, the PKSh will survive as long as the nation needs it, 730 years if necessary.

The Communists, symbols of genuine democracy and self-denial for the interests of ordinary folk and the people, see clearly that the democratic revolution we desire is not taking place in Albania, but in its place there is a counterrevolution for power that we do not desire and denounce. In this situation full of chaos and fog and when the nation's destinies are at a crossroads, will the Albanians be clever enough to sense the great tragedy awaiting them and to prevent it, or will they pursue [word indistinct] and willingly enter the mouth of the devil and the dragon?

Will the Albanians be patient enough to listen to the timely call of Sami Frasheri, who it seems was thinking of the time of Livingstone when he said: Oh, Albanian brothers, may you not go the same way as the savages of Australia and Africa who were cheated by the beads and tin mirrors the Europeans gave to them in exchange for their countries. Or, instead of this national call, will they listen to the stale tune of some suborned and servile politicians who are ready to crawl from the shores of the Adriatic as far as California? Hannibal ante porta—this was the Romans' call when the Carthaginians were approaching the walls of Rome, which in Albanian means: Danger is on the doorstep.

Great dangers are breaking against Albania's doors. These dangers must be understood today. Tomorrow will be late, tomorrow will be too late. This is the voice of the Communists, who love Albania more than their own lives. They call us Red, and of course we are Red, because we are the color of the national flag and will fight for the color of the national flag all our lives. Our program too bears the color of the national flag. We will not take off our Red shirts, but we tell the revanchists: Take off your black shirts.

Liberal Party Not To Participate in Elections

AU1703203392 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] A report from the Albanian Liberal Party [PLSh] states that this party will not participate in the elections. It says, among other things, that this party has undertaken the mission of defending the interests of the Albanian intellectuals, youth, and the long suffering people. It has strongly raised its voice and has asked to protect the vital interests of teachers, doctors, agronomists, engineers, artists, youth, and servicemen. The PLSh has asked and will persistently ask for the appearance of the Socialist Party and its factions before a constitutional court as worthy successors of the Party of Labor.

We, the party's report continues, accuse these forces of carrying out political genocide against our people and systematically sabotaging the Albanian econmy. The PLSh does not favor political revanchism, but considers it necessary to dissolve these parties and allow them to be refounded after six or seven years if they are to really dissociate themselves from their past and be renovated as genuine European political forces.

The PLSh is in fact the poorest party. It gains nothing from the Law on Political Parties, and it is more than clear to everybody that there can be no electoral campaign without resources and funds. The anti-democratic Electoral Law that trampled roughshod over fundamental human rights became an insurmountable obstacle. The PLSh will continue to fight for the liberalization of life in our country. It appeals to all its members and supporters to vote for the Democratic Party and the other genuine opposition parties. Their victory, the report concludes, is our victory too. We will fight and win. We will go to any lengths to throw Albania into the arms of an advanced Europe.

Independent Centrist Party Bows Out of Elections

AU1803164892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] An announcement by the Independent Centrist Party states that this party cannot enter the electoral campaign on equal terms because of a serious shortage of

the most elementary resources for the normal conduct of its activities, and is therefore not fielding any candidates. Under these circumstances, the Independent Centrist Party urges all its members and supporters to give their votes to the Democratic Party as the largest political force that supports genuine democracy. Persuaded of the electorate's total openness, the Independent Centrist Party hopes that the democratic wing of the opposition will win in the 22 March elections.

Supreme Court Approves Greek Party Candidates

NC1903124392 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 0500 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] The Albanian Supreme Court approved the participation of four additional candidates from the Greek minority party, Union for Human Rights, in next Sunday's elections, which Council of Europe parliamentary meeting members will observe.

Electoral Commission Lists Parties, Candidates

AU1803155592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission, bearing in mind that the legal deadline for defining party groupings for joint candidates has elapsed and having examined the complaints of various parties to the Supreme Court, states that 11 political parties and five independent candidates, for a total of 521 candidates, are taking part in the electoral campaign.

Specifically, the following political parties are taking part:

1. The Agrarian Party in 46 constituencies.
2. The Human Rights Union in 29 constituencies.
3. The Democratic Party in 97 constituencies.
4. The Christian Democratic Party in 11 constituencies.
5. The Ecology Party in seven constituencies.
6. The Popular Alliance in three constituencies.
7. The Communist Party in 31 constituencies.
8. The Republican Party in 94 constituencies.
9. The Social Democratic Party in 97 constituencies.
10. The Socialist Party in 100 constituencies.
11. The Universal Party in one constituency.

Independent candidates have registered in the following constituencies:

Shpetim Ali Demi in Constituency No. 13 in Durres
Ali Nevruz Lleshi in Constituency No. 20 in Elbasan
Bashkim Jaup Tabaku in Constituency No. 30 in Gramsh
Veli Nuredin Shehu in Constituency No. 35 in Rrogozhine
Shkelqim Qamil Koci in Constituency No. 52 in Librazhd

Five parties are taking part in the campaign with lists of candidates for additional seats under the proportional representation system:

The Agrarian Party
The Democratic Party
The Republican Party
The Social Democratic Party
The Socialist Party.

Police Detain Chief Editor of RUDE PRAVO

LD1703114492 Prague CSTK in English 0807 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 17 (CSTK)—The chief editor of one of Czechoslovakia's largest dailies, the leftist RUDE PRAVO, was detained by federal police Monday morning pending a court decision today, RUDE PRAVO reported in this morning's issue. The paper write that it believes an error led to the detention of Chief Editor Zdenek Porybny and says it has not broken any laws. Police also conducted a search of the paper's offices.

RUDE PRAVO Staff Protest

LD1803231492 Prague CSTK in English 2201 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] [No dateline as received] In a statement sent today to the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and passed to CSTK, editors of RUDE PRAVO sharply protested the detention of their chief editor. "We protest against political intimidation of the press in Czechoslovakia," they said, adding that the accusation of fraud and unfair competition is "untrue and absurd, and that the real cause of this repressive step against one of Czechoslovakia's biggest dailies is a revenge for its critical articles on some developments in Czechoslovakia.

Interior Ministry Elaborates Case

LD1803230392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] As we have already reported in our previous newscasts, RUDE PRAVO's chief editor Zdenek Porybny was arrested yesterday by members of the Federal Police. Martin Fendrych, press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Interior, provided us with more detailed information:

[Begin Fendrych recording] On 11 March 1992 an investigator of the federal police investigation department began criminal proceedings for the crimes of fraud and illegal business practice. The investigator accused Mr. Z.P.—I have to use only initials instead of full names—of these two crimes. He has reason to believe that as director of the Florenc Praha publishing house, he founded the Borgis joint stock company no later than October 1990 with intention of obtaining financial profits linked to the publishing of RUDE PRAVO—for himself as well as for others.

Contrary to the legal measures of the CSFR Federal Assembly Presidium and without the knowledge of the Federal Ministry of Finance he transfered all the business and other agreements necessary for publishing activities to the Borgis joint stock company. In this way he gained profits for himself and other shareholders but caused damage of at least 24 million korunas to the state and, at the same time, endangered the business of the competitor Florenc publishing house.

Another person was also accused—Mr M.R.—of abetting in the crime of illegal business practice. Contrary to the regulations on business competition this man, in his post as deputy director of the Florenc publishing house, which publishes RUDE PRAVO, concluded a business agreement with Mr Z.P., chairman of the board of Borgis joint stock company, which also publishes RUDE PRAVO. This agreement concerned temporarily renting an office and the technological equipment necessary for publishing activities with the intention of helping Mr. Z.P. to endanger the business interests of the competitor, the Florenc publishing house.

These are the crimes for which the investigator has begun criminal prosecution. [end recording]

That was Martin Fendrych, press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. According to information available to us, the Prague Municipal Court today took the accused, Zdenek Porybny, into custody.

Prosecutor Confirms Police Powers

LD1803232492 Prague CSTK in English 1216 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Prague March 18 (CSTK)—A Czechoslovak senior prosecutor today told CSTK that the criminal proceedings against the chief editor of RUDE PRAVO, Zdenek Porybny, are in the powers of the federal police. The prosecutor, Vladimir Nechanicky, was responding to a statement by federal parliament Vice Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky in today's RUDE PRAVO which questioned the powers of the federal police to launch criminal proceedings in cases of fraud and illegal business activity, of which Porybny has been accused. [passage omitted]

Nechanicky said a special team was set up by the federal Interior Ministry in 1990 to investigate possible offences arising from the financial operations of the former Czechoslovak Communist Party and its legal successors, and to possibly take legal action. The team has been included in the federal police.

In a letter to the Czechoslovak Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), received today by Petr Uhl, a member of VONS, Porybny wrote that "No economic contracts have been transferred from the Florenc publishers to the Borgis joint stock company, and Florenc had no publishing rights over RUDE PRAVO. These rights rested solely with the Federal Council of the Communist Party for Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM)". Uhl told CSTK that a VONS meeting, due next month, will decide whether or not the committee will deal with Porybny's case.

Havel Recalls Envoys; StB Connections Possible

LD1703160192 Prague CSTK in English 1256 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 17 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has recalled Cestmir Cisar and Frantisek Barbirek from their posts of Czechoslovak special

envoy and Czechoslovak ambassador to Bulgaria respectively, Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky told CSTK today. He, however, refused to comment whether or not there is a link between this recall and the October 4 Screening Law, which bars Communist Party officials, former Secret Police (StB) agents and collaborators and people's militia members from high state and economic posts until 1996. Cisar's and Barbirek's dismissals were recommended to the president by the federal Cabinet's resolution of March 5. The same resolution recommended to oust Rudolf Schuster as Czechoslovak ambassador to Canada and Izidor Pociatek as the country's ambassador to Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. Their recall, however, was not confirmed by Zantovsky.

Right-Wing Parties Form Election Coalition

LD1803120592 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1130 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent Jiri Hracek on a Club of Committed Nonparty Members press conference on 17 March; place not given]

[Text] Club of Committed Nonparty Members [KAN] Chairman Bohdan Dvorak has informed journalists that a strong right-wing group has been formed with a clear anti-Communist profile. The joint list of candidates will include members of KAN, the Movement for Civil Liberty, the National Socialist Party, the Republican Union, the Civil Servants Union [Unie Statnich Zamestnancu], the Anti-Communist Alliance, and the Confederation of Political Prisoners. Candidates are not allowed to be former members of National Front parties and will be required to undergo screening.

Carnogursky Reflects on KDH Split, Ramifications

AU1803084292 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 16 Mar 92 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "I Believe in Slovakia's Strength"]

[Text] On Saturday 7 March, a group led by Jan Klepac, Slovak National Council deputy chairman, officially split from the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. Despite the fact that leaders of both factions had the chance to express their opinions on the fact, we have addressed the KDH chairman with the question of how he sees the situation a few days after the fact.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] What development do you foresee within the KDH in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] There have been two ideological streams within the KDH, virtually from the very beginning. We differed in our opinions on the constitutional setup. The group surrounding Jan Klepac is of a more radical view. As Bartolomej Kunz, a member of this group, explained in an article in SLOVENSKY DENNIK, a day may have come for a possible declaration of Slovakia's independence. In the economic sphere, this group has a program that would lead to inflation in Slovakia, sooner or later. They present their national and economic demands without being willing to bear direct responsibility for them, doing so in an uncompromising manner. They do not draft their plans in detail. Their political program and methods will logically bring this group into the camp of those parties and movements that will allow the return of old figures into important positions.

The moderate group [Carnogursky's group] is working on the details of the constitutional setup, economic reform, and other objectives of our policy, while being aware of its responsibility for its policy. As long as it was not necessary to make a decision, the two streams were able to coexist within the KDH. However, the approaching elections call for clear attitudes and [Jan Klepac's] group thought that they may do better in the elections if they have their own program. They made their bet on a national program based on slogans. I would rather bet on a national program based on building Slovakia in a tangible way. First, it is necessary to build real independence in Slovakia, and then to declare it—not the other way around.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] You are known as a politician who has a great ability to make compromises. This may be the reason why many were surprised that it was actually you who invited Jan Klepac for a discussion on 1 March, after which you arrived at the opinion that it would be better if each stream followed its own path. Would it not be possible to coexist on the platform of Christian tolerance and understanding?

[Carnogursky] I invited Jan Klepac for a discussion after I learned that representatives of this group had met, immediately after the meeting of the presidium in Vranov, and discussed specific steps regarding their split from the KDH. In our discussion, Jan Klepac confirmed that they held a meeting after the presidium meeting, however he said that their meeting was not in Vranov, but in Domas. If only we two were involved, or a few KDH representatives, then we might have been able to find a way of coexisting. Yet it is not personal relations that are involved here. We agreed on the fact that it would be impossible for the KDH to go into the elections with two different programs, or with one program, but so general that both groups would be able to interpret it in their own way. We must have a clear program for the elections. Since this group has refused to yield to the majority, such a program will only be possible after they split.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Will the split weaken one or the other group within the KDH? Do both groups see their opportunity in recruiting new adherents, or in the return of those who left the KDH some time ago and looked for their place within other parties and movements?

[Carnogursky] Both alternatives are possible. Klepac's group's split from the KDH has eroded people's confidence in the KDH. On the other hand, we also discussed the fact that voters may be able to better orient themselves, and, after the split, the group may attract the votes of those voters who are more radical about the constitutional setup, and, vice versa, more realistic voters may give their votes to the KDH. Which of the two alternatives will materialize we will see later.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] To what extent can the KDH rely on the fact that the majority of Slovaks are of one of the Christian beliefs? The ecumenical idea, based on sincere cooperation between Catholics and members of other Christian churches, is becoming more and more attractive.

[Carnogursky] The influence of religion and churches in Slovakia on the political parties is not as strong as it used to be in the past, or as one would infer from the number of the believers. On the other hand, the wide Christian background in Slovakia brings an element of stability and unity into the political parties and offers a basis for mutual understanding. However, the KDH cannot rely on the fact that it will attract voters by simply subscribing to Christianity. The KDH can attract voters if it offers a high quality program and interesting ideas.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Do you not think that it is a paradox that problems within the KDH arose most obviously after the draft on the constitutional setup was prepared in Milovy? It was you who drafted it one year ago?

[Carnogursky] I did not draft the Milovy treaty. I am the author of the idea that mutual relations between the Slovak and the Czech Republics should be based on a treaty. Of course, the Milovy treaty is not perfect, since this treaty is a result of the compromise reached between the Slovak and the Czech sides. It is just the compromising nature of the Milovy treaty that made it so unpopular. I believe that the republics are in a strong enough position to be able to decide their future development. Even now, the republics make decisions about their culture and social policy, and they are separately developing their foreign contacts. I was not against the Milovy treaty, since this treaty provided a legal basis for such a separate development. On the other hand, a common state is very beneficial to both republics and gives them guarantees of security and international recognition.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Do you consider it correct that the splinter party led by Jan Klepac should call itself the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement [SKDH], if there is the original KDH?

[Carnogursky] The name SKDH confuses people. The splinter group should have selected a different name. The KDH, too, is Slovak. During the final discussion we asked them to select a different name but, as you can see, the KDH symbol is too strongly rooted in people's minds. Even the group surrounding engineer Jan Klepac did not want to give it up altogether.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Is a post-election coalition between the two KDH groups possible? Such a coalition could be advantageous for both sides since they are both Christian oriented. Or do you rather anticipate the establishment of a different coalition?

[Carnogursky] I consider this coalition very unlikely. You know, consider a divorced couple, for example. It is very difficult for a divorced couple to find a way of living together again. However, a coalition could be established on occasion, in order to push through some Christian demands. The KDH will not form a coalition with the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement as long as Meciar is its leader. On the other hand, the SKDH is likely to form a coalition even with Meciar. By doing this, civil rights would be put in doubt in Slovakia.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] LIDOVE NOVINY wrote that since Jan Klepac's group split you have no economists in the KDH who can draft an economic program. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Carnogursky] It is rather the opposite case. Now that Jan Klepac's group has left the KDH is even more able to offer something to the intelligentsia and to attract capable economists from their ranks. Not only practical economists, but also theoreticians who would be able to formulate our economic program.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] What do you expect from Frantisek Miklosko, with whom you cooperated as a Catholic dissident for a long time? What do you expect to happen should other well-known personalities join your party?

[Carnogursky] Frantisek Miklosko and I have been friends for many years. He is able to see political trends within a general situation. At the end of our dissident period, we were almost taken for twins in the Christian circles in Slovakia. During Miklosko's membership in the Public Against Violence movement, this perception of us became weaker. I hope that it will revive now. Frantisek Miklosko has an exceptional ability to compare current political phenomena to historical, and even biblical principles. Based on such a comparison, he is able to suggest a cure for current political phenomena and give them a clear shape.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Apart from the Slovak National Party, we have several extra-parliamentary political parties and movements in Slovakia, such as the Slovak National Democratic Movement, the Slovak National Unification Party, the Slovak People's Party, the Slovak National Unity, and the Freedom Party, whose main objective are the national interests of Slovaks. The For a Democratic Slovakia Movement, and now the SKDH, too, stress these interests. Do you think that the greater their number, the sooner they can reach their goal? Or are you of the opinion that it is not the quantity, but the quality—and a well-prepared course of

action—that is important? Well, the forces are being unnecessarily split, like that.

[Carnogursky] In Slovakia, there is really a large number of nationally oriented parties and I can imagine that their life is difficult. Their number is not what matters. Neither of the so-called nationally oriented parties has a good national program. It is not enough to beat one's breast, saying I am a Slovak, and do nothing tangible for Slovakia. Moreover, all the nationally oriented parties may lead Slovakia into isolation. For example, none of the parties is a member of a larger international organization of similar parties, since no such party has accepted them. These parties could transform Slovakia into a second Albania—an introvert blaming all his faults on someone else.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Along with the KDH, we have here the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement, and also the Christian Democratic Union of Slovakia. Does that not mean that the word Christianity is devalued to a certain extent? Is it not an unnecessary abuse of the word? Life in our country does not provide proof that our society is being regenerated in the Christian spirit. What could be done to eliminate the unnecessary splitting of the forces? Much more could be achieved by the unification of all sincere Christian forces.

[Carnogursky] Christian parties can cooperate on individual problems, for example, they can cooperate to pass some laws. Christianity itself is not a sufficient reason for forming a coalition, or for the organizational unification of various political parties. Well, even the Christians themselves are not members of the same party, they are members of several parties. Not only in our country, but in the West too.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Some people reproach the KDH with being too hesitant and having unclear attitudes to some issues—the constitutional setup in particular. Now, after the split of the so-called radical stream, it may be easier to unequivocally formulate opinions and standpoints despite the fact that it is usually better to have several variants at hand. The KDH would have something to say to people who have more clear-cut ideas and would be able to present them with clearer ideas.

[Carnogursky] The KDH is going to draft a program to build Slovakia in a tangible manner. The implementation of such a program will give us the opportunity to make a free decision about the constitutional setup. We must stop the economic decline. Slovakia must become energetically self-sufficient. We must put the Gabcikovo project into operation and get rid of the broken down A1 nuclear power station. Gradually, we want to arrive at the same level of minority rights in all the countries of Central Europe. By doing this, we will eliminate tensions between us and our neighbors. We must establish reliable international relations. After that, Slovakia may freely decide, for example in a referendum, what constitutional setup it prefers. I believe in Slovakia's strength. By that time the Czech Republic, too, will build its international links, and Europe and the world will be more willing to recognize small nations. The KDH simply must become a movement oriented toward Europe. Our membership in the European Democratic Union and other organizations of the European Christian Democratic and people's parties will help us. We would like to sway the intelligentsia to our side, and through the intelligentsia, other groups of people, too.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] We can imagine that among the KDH members and supporters, there are some who will find difficulty in adapting to the idea of the split, and they will face the dilemma of which stream to follow. Both streams will be dear to them. They hold their protagonists in esteem. What would you, one of the initiators and founders of the movement, recommend to them?

[Carnogursky] Only the original KDH is the genuine KDH. Let them chose the original, not the replica. They do not have to make a decision now, there are three months left before the elections. Let them critically evaluate both the KDH and the SKDH, and let them form their own opinion on which of the movements has a better program for Slovakia and for each and every Slovak. Let them make their decision then.

EC-U.S. Statement on SFRY Republics Welcomed

LD1703175792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] The Hungarian Government welcomes the EC-U.S. joint statement of intention on the recognition of the southern Slav republics. The communique of the Budapest Foreign Ministry regards as noteworthy the fact that in the document Washington and the EC particularly call on Serbia to strictly respect the rights of national minorities living on its territory. The Foreign Ministry finds it unfortunate that no genuine intention for cooperation can be seen from the Serbian side, in spite of the fact that Hungary has been giving proof of its willingness to restore good-neighborly relations with concrete steps in areas vital for Serbia, the communique stresses.

Croatian Warships Violate Territorial Waters

LD1803180692 Budapest MTI in English 1554 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI)—Croatian military patrol boats violated Hungary's territory twice on the River Drava over the past 24 hours, border guard spokesman Col. Attila Krisan reported today. On Tuesday, a Croatian patrol boat crossed the marked border line to Hungary from 9 to 9.20 am, and then from 3.20 to 3.40 pm. Krisan said the moves violated the ban on armed ships on the Drava. A Hungarian-Yugoslav committee is investigating.

Parliament Discusses Accord With CSFR on Dam

LD1703213492 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—The draft resolution on the 1977 Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower system was discussed in parliament today. An immediate termination of the agreement and an elimination of environmental damages was urged by ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) MPs [members of parliament] Miklos Csapody, Peter Szel and Attila Zsigmond.

Robert Kiss, an opposition Alliance of Free Democrats MP criticized the draft as no longer timely, and listed the international accords violated by Czechoslovakia because of its continued construction. He spoke about unfavourable changes in hydroeconomic conditions, environmental damages and a possible catastrophe.

Parliament intends to avoid throwing a shadow on Czechoslovak-Hungarian ties because of the debate, Christian Democratic People's Party MP Nandor Rott, environmental protection committee chairman said. Under international law, every country's territorial right extends to underground territories, including water supplies. Therefore, he said, no country can accept that a neighbour jeopardizes its water supply. At the same time, he added, compromise needs two sides, but Czechoslovakia refuses to make the slightest concessions.

During the discussion, a number of MPs criticized environmental protection minister Sandor K. Keresztes.

National Bank Devalues Forint 1.9 Percent

AU1803131792 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, 14 March (MTI)—The National Bank of Hungary (NBH) is to reduce interest rates on certain central bank credits and to devalue the forint by 1.9 percent as from Monday, 16 March, NBH President Peter Akos Bod told MTI today. The reduction in interest rates will not affect the minimum lending rate, which is to remain 22 percent, but will extend to interest rates on forint loans lent against hard-currency deposits, reducing the rates from 32.2 percent to 28 percent. The current 29-percent rate on refinancing loans with terms under one year will be reduced to 28 percent.

The measures fall in line with NBH's monetary policies for this year, Bod said. A primary goal of NBH policies is to create appropriate conditions for commercial banks to be able to reduce lending and deposit rates, to help them place resources. The present forint devaluation, done by the NBH in its own scope, is much smaller than it was expected by financial circles. Last January, the NBH devalued the forint by 15 percent and in November, another 5.8-percent devaluation followed.

Although foreign capital has been flowing into Hungary at an increasing pace and the country's current account has shown a permanent surplus, the NBH opted to devalue the forint as the Hungarian currency has gone through a considerable revaluation recently, making imports cheap enough to oust home products from the Hungarian market. Hungary's current account showed a surplus of more than 300 million US dollars this January. In the same month, foreign investments in the country totalled 100 million US dollars, and are expected to reach 1.5 billion dollars this year.

Prosecutor's Office Investigates Communist Party

LD1803215892 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI)—Charges of illegally siphoning off millions of dollars to the Soviet Communist Party by the former ruling party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) are being investigated by the Prosecutor's Office. The formal fact-finding mission started on 18 February after receiving citizens' reports. The Prosecutor's Office began investigating 9 March based on "a strong suspicion of a gross mismanagement of currency affairs."

According to the official heading the investigation, it is hard to get at the truth because of the lack of sufficient evidence to pinpoint suspects and their connections. "With such a complicated case, the investigation may last several months," a prosecutor general's office representative told MTI today. Several witnesses have been heard and steps have been taken to collect evidence from Hungarian and foreign archives and financial institutions, the official said.

Foreign Ministry Delivers Protest to Lithuania

Local Election Date Urged

LD1803191392 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Mar 92

[No video available]

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has protested against the Lithuanian Government's failure to make a decision on a date for local elections in regions inhabited by the Polish minority. The Polish ministry has received with great concern information that six Polish deputies to the Lithuanian parliament are accused by the prosecutor general of activities aimed at the violation of the sovereignty of Lithuania.

Polish Ethnic Minority Discussed

LD1803211392 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—Director of the Consular and Emigration Department of the Polish Foreign Ministry Jacek Czaputowicz received Lithuanian Charge d'Affaires in Poland Dainius Junevicius Wednesday to discuss the situation of the Polish ethnic minority in Lithuania, the Foreign Ministry has announced. Czaputowicz conveyed the Polish Foreign Ministry's protest against Lithuanian authorities failing to fix the date of local elections in the regions inhabited by the Polish minority. He stressed that this was contrary to the spirit of the Polish-Lithuanian declaration signed recently and to the talks Polish Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski held in Vilnius.

Czaputowicz also protested against new steps by the Lithuanian authorities that may bring about further deterioration of the condition of the Polish minority. He said that the Foreign Ministry was very concerned over a report that the Lithuanian general prosecutor's office associated six members of the Polish floor group in the Lithuanian parliament with actions aimed to violate Lithuania's sovereignty. Czaputowicz stressed that such steps did not serve to improve Polish-Lithuanian relations.

Trade Relations Established With Croatia

LD1903115192 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—Poland and Croatia established bilateral economic and trade relations during the three-day visit of a Croatian delegation to Warsaw, led by Deputy Foreign Minister of Croatia Sergey Morsan. The talks which had ended on Wednesday started a round of negotiations on a cooperation agreement between the two countries. Deputy Trade Minister of Croatia Neven Mimica participated in the talks. The Croatian delegation also held a meeting with Polish businessmen.

Olechowski: Budget Adoption Needed for IMF

LD1803192392 Warsaw PAP in English 1241 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—The adoption of the 1992 budget bill by the Sejm (Lower House) is an indispensable condition for Poland's cooperation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Polish Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski said Wednesday upon his return from two-days talks with the IMF, the World Bank and U.S. officials in Washington. Before leaving for Paris as a member of the entourage accompanying Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on his official visit to France, Olechowski said he would make further steps there to secure additional means to finance Poland's planned deficit outside the IMF and World Bank programme of aid.

"The IMF shared my view that this year's budget deficit of 65.5 trillion zlotys (some 4.9 billion U.S. dollars) cannot be avoided," Olechowski declared. He added that the parliament may make corrections to the draft of the budget. "I am sure that the IMF would accept the (corrected) budget if it is reasonable and sensible," the finance minister said. The government budget bill envisages a deficit that will not exceed 5 per cent of the gross domestic product. After the Sejm approves the budget, Poland and the IMF may sign in May a new agreement under which the former will gain access to IMF credits suspended last September, Olechowski said.

Council of Ministers Approves Draft Budget

LD1803195492 Warsaw PAP in English 1911 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—At its meeting here Wednesday the Council of Ministers approved of the draft 1992 budget presented by the minister of finance, providing for a deficit of 65.5 percent of the gross national product. Minor amendments to the draft will be introduced between today and March 23, when the document will be lodged with the Sejm, the government press spokesman Marcin Gugulski told reporters. The changes will reflect today's cabinet debate, attended by President Lech Walesa.

The amount of the deficit was approved by international financial institutions and the U.S. Administration in talks with Polish Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski earlier this week, Gugulski added. He quoted Olechowski as saying during the cabinet meeting that the proposed deficit had been "approved with disgust." Gugulski also said talks with the IMF on resumption of credit assistance would start in early April. The main spending items in the 1992 draft budget are social insurance subsidies (81.7 trillion zlotys), health care, tourism and sports (50.7 trillion), settlements with banks (44 trillion), education (33.2 trillion), social welfare (25 trillion), defense (24 trillion).

At today's meeting the government did not discuss the question of special powers it wanted to receive from parliament with a view to efficient implementing of

economic policy. Gugulski declined comment when asked if the draft budget would be lodged with Sejm together with a motion for special powers.

Olszewski Terms Press Criticism 'Pathological'

AU1803092792 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Mar 92 p 2

[Jolanta Koral report: "The Effective Prime Minister Critic Is Not Afraid"]

[Text] The prime minister maintains that the government will not respond to criticism as people are capable of distinguishing "the truth from manipulation" themselves. He termed articles appearing in RZECZPOSPOLITA "pathologically anti-government." He believes that one of the government's successes has been "the halting of the disintegration of the state."

"The government is not making a tragedy out of the Sejm's rejection of its economic policy principles, although it shows what degree of support the government has," said Prime Minister Jan Olszewski at a meeting with voivodship governors held at the Office of the Council of Ministers on 11 March. He added that the principles that were submitted to the Sejm are the only program that can lead the country out of "a state of collapse." He announced that the government will seek political support from all parliamentarians and forces that possess a sense of political responsibility.

Olszewski said that the government had succeeded in arresting the disintegration of the state, which was particularly in evidence in the Armed Forces, the police, the security apparatus, and the legal system. He said that there already exists a plan for reforming the central and regional administrations and that it is to lead to the creation of an administrative apparatus that is numerically smaller, but competent, able to operate having been set clearly-defined tasks, and committed to the state. The highest interests of the state will have to take precedence over political sympathies and views, declared the prime minister.

The head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, Wojciech Wlodarczyk said that the government had already "familiarized itself" with the political and economic situation in individual voivodships and regions, and it will thus be able to assess the work of voivodship governors and draw conclusions. He also announced that public administration wages would improve this year.

According to the prime minister, the government has lately been criticized primarily by "political forces that identify with the old order" and want "to save the privileges that they still possess."

He said that the criticism "bears no relation to government documents and official government positions" and called it "primitive manipulation by the press." He said he hoped that society would itself be able to distinguish truth from falsehood and that is why the government is taking the attacks calmly and is not taking any firm steps with respect to the press.

The prime minister called RZECZPSOPOLITA articles about the government "pathological" and added that "it cannot be tolerated."

He added that RZECZPOSPOLITA, which was once the government press organ, is currently being published by a company in which the government owns a share and that the company is constructed in such a way that the company's directors are protected "from moves by the majority shareholder."

Minister Wlodarczyk formulated precise charges at a meeting with journalists and among the items he mentioned were an article written by the paper's editor in chief, Dariusz Fiskus, which appeared as the government was being formed, a January article on the government's prospects written by Maciej Lukasiewicz, and an article by Andrzej Drawicz ("he glorified General Jaruzelski and martial law").

The head of the Office of the Council Ministers said that he would seek legal measures that would allow the government to increase its influence over RZECZPOSPOLITA. GAZETA asked the RZECZPOSPOLITA editor in chief to respond to the charges, but he declined to comment.

Sejm Urges Accelerated Army Restructuring

LD1703220392 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 17—The Sejm (Lower House) Defence Committee resolved on Tuesday to motion the government for intensifying work on restructuring the Polish Army and the Defence Ministry after a four-hour discussion on a draft defence doctrine and plans to transform the Armed Forces worked out by the Presidential National Security Bureau.

After the meeting Defence Minister Jan Parys said the draft doctrine was "a good material for discussion and deputies voiced numerous reservations and supplements to it." "I think as long as Poland has no guarantees of security on the part of other states, any reductions in the armed forces are unjustified," he stated referring to the concept of head of the Security Bureau Jerzy Milewski to reduce the Army by 50,000. According to chairman of the Sejm committee Maciej Zalewski the draft of defence doctrine was too vast and interfered with constitutional provisions. While constructing a doctrine it is necessary to define clear relations between power centres dealing with defences, he stated.

Zalewski announced the committee would continue discussion on the projects and would also be acquainted with a concept for the Army restructuring worked out by the Defence Ministry. "It is nothing bad, there are various concepts on the issue. The important thing is to have efficient procedures for working out a common stand," he added. Poland's defence doctrine which will define basic rules of functioning of the military system and the civilian structure of the state as well as threats to its security is to be adopted by the National Defence Committee.

Iliescu Discussion of Domestic Issues Noted

AU1603210692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/3/1992—Referring to the Romanians' history after the Second World War, Romania's President Ion Iliescu specified during a BBC radio broadcast that, in his opinion, one could not speak about a contribution of communism but about the Romanian people's efforts which materialized in an accumulation of a true national wealth. Anyhow, he said, Romania today has a higher economic potential than Romania before the war. The general cultural standards of the population, of the youth place Romania among the most advanced countries in this respect. Nevertheless, the communist system, owing to its rigidity, to its control over the economic, social and political life, over human thinking was a brake on the people's growing creative power. That is why, he said, communism was hated, was rejected by the entire Romanian society in all its components, including the members of the former Communist Party.

Specifying that the Romanian revolution of December 1989 aimed at overthrowing a rigid totalitarian regime that had excluded certain categories of people from societal life, President Iliescu opined that a comeback to the same procedures, to the same exclusivist conception did not mean democracy. Romanian society can be changed only by involving all active forces apt to help a renewing process he said.

Romania also ranks among the most advanced countries in matters of rights and liberties guaranteed to ethnic minorities, of the assertion of the national being and entity of all of them, President Iliescu also said. Among the examples he gave was also the fact that all ethnic groups were represented to the parliament, that Romania guaranteed rights and conditions for tuition in the mother tongue and its utilization, and as for the Hungarian minority he showed there were no obstacles to using its mother tongue in education, culture, the press and any publication. Mentioning that there was a whole propaganda that questions the rights and liberties granted to the Hungarian minority in particular, President Iliescu underscored the "lack of objectiveness" in approaching such a problem inviting anyone to study facts on the spot.

Assessing anti-Semitism just as any other form of nationalistic extremism as "parasitizing phenomena which create tension in the social life" Romania's president specified they were not specific to Romanian society, being only "expressions and tendencies of extremist groups, which can be met in other countries as well."

President Ion Iliescu assessed that Romania was undergoing a general process of re-establishing political life. In his opinion the most realistic formula to result after this year's legislative elections would be "a coalition of forces."

Admitting that Western political forces and even Western statesmen showed certain reserves in their relations with Romania, Ion Iliescu pointed to the positive evolution of the U. S. State Department's position on the granting of the most-favoured-nation clause as well as the openness and readiness of many countries and international bodies to develop ties with Romania after the local polls.

President Iliescu also showed his concern over the provocative acts committed by the separatists on the left bank of the Dniester and especially over the dangerous acts that led to casualties. He rejected the "diversions" regarding "Romania's involvement in the conflicts across the Dniester" qualifying them as "aberrant." The president expressed Romania's solidarity with the efforts of Moldova's leadership toward finding political solutions to the problems facing the Moldovan state. Referring to the "wish for the reunification of the Romanian territories" President Iliescu maintained that account should be taken of the real situation today, the self-determination of the population in the republic. The question of a future integration concerns political practice and the relations between the two Romanian states, he said.

In connection with the evolution of his personality during the period of totalitarianism and after the revolution, Ion Iliescu said that, despite many of his fellow countrymen who zealously served the communist system and Ceausescu's regime till its last days and now became champions of anti-communism, in the last twenty years he was one of the most suspected persons in Romania owing to his different stances on the problems in Romania society. Asserting that he manifested like a democrat even in the conditions of the former regime, Ion Iliescu specified that, as far as he was concerned, he did not change suddenly his political options, he merely advanced, underscoring that in all communist countries those who brought about changes were the people inside the system.

Spiroiu on Relations With Hungary, Border Issue

AU1703112692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0937 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/3/1992—The idea of altering frontiers by force is no longer used. I think that no such danger faces Romania. But we are ready to defend the integrity of Romania's territory whenever necessary, Romanian Defence Minister Nicolae Spiroiu told ZIG-ZAG weekly. I know nothing about a direct or immediate threat posed to Transylvania, he specified.

He said that there were very good relations between the Romanian Army and the Hungarian Army and added: We intend to provide for a transparency to remove the suspicion created by various assessments or news items spread about with more or less goodwill. We try to remove any tension between the Romanians and the Hungarians caused especially by stirring up ideas regarding the minorities' right to self-determination.

Answering a question, Mr. Spiroiu stressed: We have ceased training military staff in the Soviet Union for 30 years. For 30 years, no one has been there to improve training. Romania was the only member country of the Warsaw Treaty to have trained all its officers here. No technology has been taken from the Soviets since 1968, except spare parts for aviation, radar, radio transmitters and a few missiles. Military equipment was manufactured in Romania in a proportion of 95 percent.

Referring to the Armed Forces' budget for 1992, the defence minister said that the funds allotted to his department were insufficient. We cannot update the Armed Forces. And the training will have to suffer. But we hope that there will be a paragraph in the bill [on the 1992 budget] to allow the executive to provide us with what is strictly necessary for 1992. These difficulties hamper our activity, but we still are operational and ready to fulfill our mission, the minister stressed.

Hungarian Efforts on Minorities Issue Assailed

LD1803222592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] A whole series of further accusations were voiced against Hungary at the weekly press briefing of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Tibor Bogdan reports:

[Bogdan] Spokesman Gheorghe Tinca, read a statement according to which Romania does everything for the improvement of Romanian-Hungarian relations but its initiatives are in vain. He mentioned as an example Theodor Melescanu's latest letter addressed to Tamas Katona which contained more than 30 proposals, which Budapest qualified as a step backward.

Hungary replied to Romanian efforts by again raising the idea of formulating a joint declaration about the situation of minorities and considering as necessary the creation of a mixed committee in this set of issues. It did so despite the fact that Bucharest, both during bilateral talks and in its public stances, has repeatedly expounded that all this contradicts European norms. According to the document, Budapest should understand in the immediate future that the only path to European integration lies through the application of European norms.

Hungarian diplomacy, by contrast, tries to make use of the minority problem to make its territorial claims in Romania prevail, and as long as this practice goes on, Budapest's intensified anti-Romanian campaign will not end either. Thus it is Hungary that is responsible for the worsening of the two countries' relations, Gheorghe Tinca concluded.

Manolescu Comments on Parliamentary Elections

PM1903100292 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Mar 92 p 3

[Report by Jean-Baptiste Naudet: "A United Opposition Candidate Can Defeat President Iliescu"]

[Excerpts] Following its success in the February local elections, the Democratic Convention (opposition) can defeat the National Salvation Front [FSN] in the coming general elections, according to Nicolae Manolescu, leader of one of the main parties in the convention and the only declared candidate for the presidential elections. According to Mr. Manolescu, the opposition will remain united as long as the ruling FSN remains divided. [passage omitted]

For the local elections on 9 and 23 February, the Civic Alliance candidate campaigned for the convention—a coalition of 14 parties and associations of which he was one of the most energetic architects. And the success of the united opposition in that election, which is also his success, makes Mr. Manolescu optimistic. With almost 33 percent of the votes, the coalition is neck and neck with Petre Roman's FSN although the latter obviously claims to have won. "Before, I had doubts," he admitted, but since those elections, Mr. Manolescu is convinced that "if the convention succeeds in putting forward a single and plausible candidate, Mr. Iliescu may lose," even if he gained more than 85 percent of the votes in May 1990. Parliament, dominated by the FSN, "is still postponing the vote on the law on the parliamentary elections to escape 'local effects,' and the wave of opposition which," he thinks, "cannot be halted in three months."

Although he thinks that "the FSN will break up" because of "personal conflicts" between Mr. Iliescu and Mr. Roman which are "difficult to overcome," the Democratic Convention can win the parliamentary elections scheduled to be held in May because it "will remain united." "There is an 'objective need' for this," he said, "to put it in old-fashioned Marxist terms," but also "there is strong pressure from the grass roots" which makes the convention "more than a coalition for local elections—a state of mind." Does this mean that the convention is ready to govern? Mr. Manolescu said that it is while admitting that it still does not have a joint platform or a very presentable economic program. But once the convention has gained power, "political realism will decide on a joint stance," he said. In short, the administration (and perhaps part of the FSN) will follow provided "the Romanian people's confidence is restored." Was not the professor, whose classes at Bucharest University are becoming more critical than literary by the day, pushed into the arena by the desperate students who took his lecture hall by storm?

International

Croatian, Serbian Parties End Talks in Vienna

LD1803185692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Report from Vienna by correspondent Zlatko Kuretic]

[Text] The two-day talks in Vienna between Croatian parliamentary parties and several parties on the Serbian political scene—the Reformist Party, the Serbian Liberal Party, the Liberal Forum, and the People's Peasant Party—ended today. The talks were held at the initiative of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party and of the Austrian People's Party, and the subject of the meeting was: Is a Serbian-Croatian agreement possible?

Although the talks yesterday and today were held behind closed doors, journalists nevertheless learned something about the content and the atmosphere in which these talks were held. However, during today's press conference a joint statement was released on the way the talks went and what had been agreed on. This agreement, let us call it, stresses loyalty to peace and the solution of controversial issues by peaceful means, compliance with the Sarajevo agreement, and respect for the UN peace efforts and the results of the Brussels conference on Yugoslavia. The eight-point joint statement also stresses the inviolability of Croatian borders—although in this respect Aleksandar Petrovic of the Serbian Liberal Party held a dissenting view—the need to establish an exchange of commodities, people and information between Croatia and Serbia, the return of expelees and refugees, legal sanctions against those who have comitted crimes, the freeing of prisoners, and respect for civic and national rights on both sides.

All those who took part in the talks can be said to be satisfied, if for no other reason than the fact that the talks were held at all. Moreover, a dialogue has been established and both sides expresed an interest in its continuation, despite the fact that representatives of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, of the Serbian Socialist Party and of the Democratic Party did not take part in the Vienna talks.

Federal

Jovic Adresses Federal Assembly

AU1803121992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0915 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Speech by Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency and president of the State Committee for the Cooperation with the United Nations, at the SFRY Assemby in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Esteemed Presidency and esteemed deputies! In the second half of the previous year, Yugoslavia found itself in a dangerous war turmoil in which it has suffered enormous human and material losses. This was all brought about by the unreasonable secessionist rebellion of Slovenia and Croatia, whose leadership we told on several occasions, even here in this high house, that they can realize all legitimate aspirations and interests of theses nations in a legal and peaceful manner. We have also warned in this Assembly that violent, unconstitutional, and secessionist behavior would lead us into a war in which nothing (?could be gained) but that could have grave consequences. In our overall activities in resolving the Yugoslav state and political crisis, we have been departing from the position that all disputes can be successfully resolved only in a democratic and peaceful way. This means that not a single Yugoslav nation nor republic can have a solution imposed upon it by force, but also that nobody has a right to harm the interests of others by unilateral and forceful decisions and steps. Therefore, we persistently advocated that—departing from the right to self-determination—each nation be allowed to decide by itself on its future and that mutual relations—including the division of rights and obligations stemming for the former common life—be resolved consensual and in a peaceful manner.

Unfortunately, the democratic and peaceful way to resolve the Yugoslav crisis was not accepted by the Yugoslav republics that declared themselves sovereign and which unilaterally took actions of forceful secession, ignoring the rights and interests of other republics and nations. As is known, Slovenia and Croatia in October 1991, contrary to the SFRY Constitution, declared sovereignty and unilaterally took actions of forceful secession. This influenced the behavior of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and provoked an overall political instability in the country.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia declared these acts of unilateral secession unconstitutional and void, drawing the attention of the organs of Croatia and Slovenia to the constitutional obligation that all controversial issues be resolved consensually with other members of the federation and with full observation of the rights of all nations. Contrary to this, the organs of the Republic of Slovenia forcefully took over the functions of the federal organs on the territory of this republic in some very important fields, like national defense, control and protection of the state borders, customs, inspection activities, and other activities that were exclusively under the competence of the organs of the federal state. The efforts that these functions be returned to the federal institutions were met in Slovenia by an armed resistance by the unconstitutionally infiltrated Territorial Defense, which has blocked the army barracks and other military installations and carried out armed attacks on the military convoys of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA], while exposing the families of the Army officers and the residents of other nationalities to unprecedented maltreatment.

In such a situation, as it is known, the SFRY Presidency passed a decision on temporary withdrawal of the JNA from Slovenia to avoid major clashes and human and

material losses, although the balance of the military power was incomparably greater to the advantage of the JNA.

In the Republic of Croatia, the secessionist forces have been incessantly active since the end of World War II. However, real problems emerged after the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] had won the elections. This party was leaning on national-fascist and Ustasha ideology and promising secession even during its pre-electoral campaign. With its arrival in power, the party was firmly set to fulfill these promises, not stooping to anything. With the adoption of the new constitution and other regulations in Croatia, the Serbian people—who were so far a constituent nation—were reduced to an ethnic minority, their ethnic rights, insignia, and institutions being abolished, its people laid off work and forced to accept the state and other symbols in the name of which a genocide was carried against Serbs in the past. At the same time the Croatian authorities carried out unconstitutional armament on the ethnic and party membership principle to implement by force its nationalist and secessionist aims.

The Serbian people, who have fresh memories of the horrible genocide that was carried out during World War II against them by the Ustasha Croatian authorities, have put up a decisive resistance to this, demanding the realization and protection of their [words indistinct]. Croatia then decided to secede from Yugoslavia and set up its own state. The Serbian people on their ethnic territories in that republic decided to secede from Croatia and stay in Yugoslavia. The threat to national rights and interests of the Serbian people led to the interethnic clash.

Faced with the serious dangers of clashes of wider proportions, the SFRY Presidency gave the JNA the task of preventing clashes by assuming a neutral position between the warring sides. However, instead of accepting such a mission by the JNA, the Croatian authorities began not only armed attacks on the Serbian people, proclaiming them a gang, but also on the JNA, calling it an occupying army. In this way, a war was imposed on Yugoslavia.

In this situation it was necessary to protect the Serbian people from genocide and lift the blockades around the JNA barracks and other military facilities and equipment and protect members of the JNA and their families from inhumane acts, maltreatment, and destruction. All attempts to stop this war and start searching for a political solution to the disputable questions were unsuccessful.

During the six-month armed clash, which was imposed by the separatist Croatian policy, the Serbian people in the Krajinas, helped by the JNA, liberated and put under their control the major part of the territories in which they constitute the majority. The aim of continuing the war would only be to defend the liberated territories and protect the rights of the Serbian people. Establishing peace and the switch to the political settlement of the problems was an acceptable solution to the Serbian people, but the Croatian side was persistent with war options.

In this situation the SFRY Presidency approached the UN Security Council to send UN peacekeeping forces to protect the Serbian people and secure peace in the Krajinas until a political solution is found on their future. No fabrications or political maneuvers can hide the fact that a war was imposed on the Serbian people and the JNA by the separatist Croatian authorities. Surely no one expected the war to be avoided at the cost of sacrificing the Serbian people and the units of the JNA on the territory of that republic.

The purpose of engaging the armed forces of Yugoslavia was therefore clear right from the beginning. This was the protection of the endangered Serbian people and the lifting of the JNA units. This was completely achieved. The Croatian militant secessionist policy was defeated. [Words indistinct] almost all territories that are predominantly populated by the Serbian people have been liberated. The Croatian politicians were forced to accept a truce. This has created the conditions for the UN forces to put under protection the territories with a majority Serbian population and, under the conditions of peace, to arrive at an acceptable solution to the future position of the Serbian people on those territories through political negotiations in accordance with internationally recognized standards and according to their legitimate will.

Political negotiations are the only way to arrive at the final solution to this problem. Therefore, these negotiations must be conducted sooner or later. If this had been understood by the Croatian authorities in time, the war and its consequences could have been avoided. Many innocent lives would have not been lost, nor would there have been significant material destruction. The whole responsibility for this is borne by those who imposed this war.

Esteemed delegates, despite our persistent and principled attempts to find exclusively political solutions to the Yugoslav crisis, and to ensure that these solutions be all-encompassing, just, and acceptable to all, that they be arrived at patiently and in a tolerant manner, without pressure and ultimatums, we faced the fact that the political factors in the secessionist republics, considerably helped by some foreign countries and circles, persistently worked on the destruction of Yugoslavia, acting unilaterally and setting ultimatums.

The escalation of the clashes reached such proportions that the negotiations between the warring sides were realistically impossible without a mediator. The rationale of the SFRY Presidency's decision to accept the EC's mediation was to find a way of stopping the war and find a just way out of the crisis through peaceful and political means.

From the very beginning of the work of the conference on Yugoslavia, the SFRY Presidency tried to contribute

toward its success and results. It was expected that the good service offered by the EC will bear fruit, because the starting points of the conference were formulated in a principled manner, as a bona fide help without interference in our internal affairs. However, in the first stage of the work of the conference, under the influence of interests of some members of the EC, a one-sided approach prevailed. Contrary to the existing norms of the international order, priority was given to secession rather than the integrity and sovereignty of a state, while the rights to those peoples and republics who wanted to continue living in Yugoslavia as a common state were crudely denied.

We held the view and still stress today that such an approach cannot bear fruit, and that it is necessary to respect all legitimate interests and options equally. The conduct by some members of the EC and some of EC's acts were also in contradiction with the spirit of the UN Security Council resolutions, which explicitly demanded from all countries that they refrain from activities that could contribute toward the increase in tensions and the postponement of the peaceful settlement through negotiations.

This was a period during which our country experienced enormous pressure, economic sanctions, and even proposals to the Security Council to introduce an embargo on oil exports to Yugoslavia. Assessing that the whole development of events and the one-sided approach by the EC, particularly some of its members, was leading not only to the dangerous deepening of the crisis but also toward possible catastrophic consequences, the SFRY Presidency approached the chairman of the Security Council with a request for UN support and protection. Firmly committed to act for the benefit of peace and a better future of the Yugoslav peoples, we proposed that the United Nations organize a peace operation in Yugoslavia. In doing so we proceeded from the special responsibility and role of the world organization and concluded that its involvement could prevent the further escalation of clashes most effectively, stop the war, and prevent the further violation of national and human rights.

In the request to the Security Council we stressed that this operation should also serve as a guarantor to the Serbian people in the Krajinas against a repeat of their tragic fate in World War II, and that through this guarantee, they will realize their legal and physical safety. We expressed the hope that only such a solution can permanently eliminate this hot-bed of crisis, which is the main factor of the crisis and clashes in Yugoslavia.

They are justifiably based on expectation that the engagement of UN will not only create the conditions for the political settlement of the crisis. The United Nations will itself become a balancing factor and will play a constructive role in achieving a positive resolution of the crisis.

When Cyrus Vance was appointed a special envoy of the UN Secretary General in the search for a solution to the Yugoslav crisis, a key positive element emerged in the international community, which determined the future development of the affairs, despite the fact that the EC, under Germany's influence, continued to support the trend that had led toward Yugoslavia's disintegration by calling upon Yugoslav republics to request international recognition and by its hasty recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. The United Nations assessed these steps negatively. They contributed toward the establishment of an effective cease-fire, influenced the beginning of the political dialogue of the representatives of the three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and finally, passed a decision to start peace operations in Yugoslavia in order to protect the endangered Serbian people in Krajina, which will last until a political solution to the crisis is found.

Thanks to these activities, all necessary conditions were created to stop bloodshed and destruction, and also to start the political talks on a final settlement of the Yugoslav crisis in peace. In our opinion, the initiative on the UN deployment was a great political triumph. Today, not only our citizens, but also the majority of the countries throughout the world, all members of the UN Security Council, and the nonaligned countries, see in this initiative the only realistic way to stop the war in Yugoslavia and to ensure that the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis with political means is done in peace.

Esteemed deputies! From the very beginning the purpose of our initiative for the deployment of the UN peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia was to establish peace, protect the endangered Serbian people in Krajinas, and create conditions for a political solution to the crisis. The bitter historic experience of the Serbian people in Krajina and the blatant bias of the EC have deepened fear, mistrust, and suspicion in the Serbian nation that on this occasion they will again be deceived, betrayed, and left at the mercy of the aggressor. Therefore, each detail of the blueprint for the deployment of the UN peacekeeping troops was examined from all aspects, and that is why we demanded assurances given by the UN Security Council and UN Secretary General on the actual meaning of the blueprint and the mode of its application. For this reason, its operational explanations and improvements were made through definite decisions of the UN Security Council as well as in the reports by the UN Secretary General, all with the aim of providing a maximum level of guarantees and security for the Serbian nation, which the peacekeeping troops must protect.

The blueprint of the UN peace operation in Yugoslavia has far-reaching significance because: First, it secures the end of the fighting, which is undoubtedly the most vital interest of all our nations and citizens. Two, it provides protection for the Serbian people in Krajina, on the liberated territories, and even more, also on the territories that were not liberated but are predominantly populated by the Serbs or have a significant percent of Serbian population living there. Three, the authorities of the Serbian nation and other citizens who live there will remain on these territories. Four, Croatian legislation and Croatian insignia will not be applicable on these

territories, but the legislation of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Krajina, as well as the provisions of the local authorities. Five, the access of the Croatian armed forces and police forces on these territories will be prohibited and prevented, and the same will apply to other organs of the Croatian authorities. Six, the right of free return of all refugees to their homes is guaranteed, while those whose homes were destroyed and burned down will be given international help and the assistance of our community. Seven, all doubts regarding the real intentions of the UN forces have been overcome—their aim is to preserve peace until an acceptable political solution for all sides in the conflict is found. The decision on the withdrawal of the peacekeeping troops can only be passed by the UN Security Council, by which the possibility that Croatia unilaterally denies them hospitality has been avoided.

Such a concept of the peace operation does not prejudice the final political solution, which should be arrived at in peace and through negotiations. The process of political negotiations lies ahead of us. It will ensure the equality of all options. The interests of the Serbian people in the Krajinas will be defended by their representatives. No one can decide on their fate without taking their political will into consideration.

However, regarding the concept of the UN peace operations, it is clear that not only are the achievements of the Serbian people in the Krajinas in the struggle for their national rights not endangered, but they are protected to the maximum. Moreover, the question of the position and the national rights of the Serbian people in the Krajinas has acquired an international dimension. It has been recognized as the most important European and world issue because of the very fact that the world organization decided to involve itself in its settlement by protecting the Serbian people from the aggression by the Croatian authorities.

It is in fact because of this that the representatives of the Croatian authorities have been persistently trying to alter the concept of the peace operations through various interpretations, which could not, of course, be accepted. Croatia had to accept the loss of authority on the Serbian territories and to accept political talks on the national rights of the Serbian people. This is an undeniable historical fact.

It is not necessary to particularly stress what a catastrophic mistake it would have been had such a concept of engaging the UN peacekeeping forces been rejected, something some individuals, who fortunately remained isolated, had strived for. A refusal would have meant acceptance of a long and exhausting war, which would not have done anyone any good.

With the help of the JNA, the Serbian people in the Krajinas successfully completed the armed part of the struggle that was imposed on them. However, their national rights can finally be confirmed by political means only.

The enormous positive role that ensured that the peace option prevailed was played by the representatives of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples from all parts of our country. They had a crucial influence on the Serbian people in the Krajinas choosing the only correct way to realize their national rights and interests. I would particularly like to stress that at the same time the obligation was undertaken to provide protection for these people in the event of attempts being made to deceive them.

The UN peace operation, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], has virtually started in Yugoslavia. Military, police, and civilian contingents are gradually arriving and being deployed. Their final deployment on the territories under the protection of the United Nations is expected in the coming month, when the handover and the demilitarization of these territories will take place in accordance with the agreed concept.

The UNPROFOR operation began before the finances needed for this operation had been approved in the United Nations. According to the current predictions, these funds amount to something over $600 million per year. Despite all the difficulties, we believe that the necessary budget for the operation will soon be approved. The Security Council and the UN Secretary General appealed to our country to contribute toward the reduction of the costs of the peace operation, and in this way help the already difficult financial position of the United Nations.

The authorized organs of our country are undertaking measures to make certain facilities and resources available to the peacekeeping forces in order to reduce the costs and help the world organization ensure that this peace operation, which is primarily and mostly in our interest, is carried out with as few difficulties as possible.

The authorized organs are also considering the draft of an agreement between the United Nations and the SFRY on the deployment of peacekeeping forces, which will, after being agreed upon and signed, will be forwarded to the SFRY Assembly for ratification.

Esteemed delegates, the arrival of the UN peacekeeping forces will have a positive impact on the future political currents in Yugoslavia. It is justifiably thought in the world today that the UN peace operation and the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels are two complementary pillars on which the entire settlement of the Yugoslav crisis is resting.

In order to protect the territories in the Krajinas, the UN peace operation is also covering parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina and parts of the Dubrovnik region, having a monitoring function there. It is also expected that the UN deployment will have a positive influence on [word indistinct] and very tense political [word indistinct] in Bosnia-Hercegovina, upon whose successful peaceful settlement the overall outcome of the abatement of the situation in Yugoslavia greatly depends. This is even more important at a moment when the representatives of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina are

making efforts to find a consensual political solution for a peaceful future for this republic. It appears that finally even Europe and the United States have realized that a citizens' referendum and calls for international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina without the political agreement by the representatives of all three constituent nations would only mean pouring oil on a dangerous flame, which threatens not only Yugoslavia and the Balkans, but also all of Europe. Everyone who truly cares about peace on these territories should demonstrate great tolerance and patience in order to avoid a fatal mistake for which the highest price would be paid by the nations and residents of this republic.

In the hope that Bosnia-Hercegovina's future will be resolved through a political consensus of the representatives of its three nations, the conditions for a peaceful settlement of the overall Yugoslav crisis are also being created. All other Yugoslav nations and republics made their political decision on their future. Serbia and Montenegro decided to continue living in a common state. Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia decided to create independent states. Any coordinated decision of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be legitimate and accepted. As regards the future of the territories under UN protection and the future of the Serbian nation that lives there, a political solution will be sought—probably over a longer period of time—but this is not a reason why life on these Yugoslav territories cannot soon resume in peace, without clashes and incidents. Even more important, there are good reasons why and many interests to search for new ways of mutual cooperation. An agreement on the division of mutual rights and obligations is expected to be reached at the Brussels conference, and perhaps it will even lay new foundations of mutual cooperation, if this is possible at the moment.

Now that the United States and the United Nations are involved in resolving the Yugoslav crisis there is more hope that the Conference on Yugoslavia will produce much better results than in the past. Our greatest aim is to overcome the state of war and its consequences as soon as possible. With the establishment of peace, conditions are being created to channel the social energy into building a new state, a democratic constitution, the establishment of monetary and financial order and stability, international cooperation, and economic and cultural progress—all this in the interest of all the residents who have had to put up with too many losses, but want peace and progress. Thank you!

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Serbian Democratic Leader Hails Agreement

LD1803143792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—The chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] said today that the agreement on the principles of new constitutional solutions for Bosnia-Hercegovina removes the possibility of a civil war breaking out.

The conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina suddenly and unexpectedly made a big step forward, managing to put off all controversial issues until a later date and adopting the principles for arranging our future. This was said during a news conference before the start of an assembly of Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina by Dr. Radovan Karadzic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, while commenting on the results of the latest round of talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina held under the EC aegis. In our view, stressed Karadzic, not many issues remain that could be interpreted ambiguously, which was the problem with the work we have done so far in the sense that anyone could read into things what one wanted, increasing tensions among our people.

There can be no ambiguity about the fact that there will be three Bosnia-Hercegovinas, whatever they are called. That is, three Bosnia-Hercegovinas based on nationality coupled with compliance with economic, geographic, and other criteria. We have seen maps, and it is obvious that everyone has been manufacturing maps although the SDS alone was accused of making them. These maps have existed from time immemorial, and European mediators suggested that a framework be established based on municipalities that without a doubt belong to one or the other or a third Bosnia-Hercegovina [sentence as received]. For marginal areas and for controversial issues to be defined by ammendments, a working group will be set up which will draw up maps.

I think, Radovan Karadzic said, that this is a great day for Bosnia-Hercegovina. If what has been agreed upon will be respected I can then say that there are no longer any reasons for a civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We still have to bargain over how to divide responsibilities between common bodies and the bodies in the constitutive units which, in our view, is an easier task.

Each of us has lost any chance of dominating the others, but in return we have gained an opportunity to avoid being treated as a national minority. Bosnia-Hercegovina will be what its nations agree upon and not what someone wants to impose on them. The greatest value of this morning's agreement lies in the fact that there will be no imposition, that no one will be able to dominate Bosnia-Hercegovina or to impose solutions likely to lead to increasing tensions. All now depends on further negotiations, but at least basic principles have been adopted and there is now no way of going back, Radovan Karadzic said. He went on to explain that the next round of negotiations will be held in Brussels on 30 March.

The administration of foreign affairs in the future Bosnia-Hercegovina will be, as he put it, "three-headed." The foreign affairs minister will rotate but ministers from "all three Bosnia-Hercegovinas" will take part in

creating the republic's foreign policy. Many issues will be decided upon by the chamber of constitutive units with a four-fifths majority. As this is almost like a consensus, nothing wil be imposed on any of the nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Radovan Karadzic devoted a large part of his statement today to the situation in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Internal Affairs Ministry. He stressed that the Serbian people had no confidence in the present ministry and that a common internal affairs service did not exist but was split along national lines.

Statement on Constitutional Principles

LD1803135992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 18 Mar 92

["Statement on the Principles for Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitutional Solutions"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—

A. Independence

1. Bosnia-Hercegovina is envisaged as a state comprising three constitutive units, based on principles of nationality, with regard to economic, geographic, and other criteria.

2. Bosnia-Hercegovina will continue to exist within the framework of its present borders and neither the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina nor the governments of the constitutive units will either encourage or support claims by neighboring states against any part of its territory.

3. Its sovereignty rests with its citizens of Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian nationality and of other nations and nationalities who realize it by their civic membership in the constitutive units and the republic's central organs.

B. General Principles

1. Bosnia-Hercegovia and its constitutive units will be governed in line with the following constitutional principles as interpreted by and implemented in the democratic states of Western Europe and as outlined in the draft convention which has been the subject of the present conference:

a) Respect for human rights in line with the highest criteria as envisaged by the draft convention; respect for private property, a market economy, and free enterprise;

b) Universal and equal suffrage, free elections, and secret ballot;

c) Freedom of political and union activity;

d) A secular state system with full religious freedom and the separation of church and state; clear demarcation of powers between government branches, the rule of law, and a democratic and efficient system of monitoring and safeguarding constitutionality and law;

e) International control and jurisdiction to protect human rights and freedoms.

C. Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly and Government

1. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly will consist of a Chamber of Citizens [Dom Gradjana] whose members will be elected by direct vote, and a Chamber of Constitutive Units [Dom Konstitutivnih Jedinica] in which every constitutive unit will have an equal number of representatives.

2. The Assembly, in the form of the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Constitutive Units, and the Government will have the authority to adopt, consider, and amend proposals submitted by the constitutive units and govern [upravljati] in the following domains: central bank and monetary policy, foreign relations, defense (Note: the issues relating to the future of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces will be defined in the course of these negotiations. This does not refer to the present army whose problems will be dealt with separately), general economic policy, economic relations, including, where anything from what follows refers to more than one constitutive unit, transport, power supplies, oil pipelines and water supplies, and other issues on which decisions have to be made. The flag and the coat of arms, higher education, religious issues, issues concerning defense, macroeconomic policy, important or key economic policy issues, relations between Bosnia and Hercegovina and Bosnia and Hercegovina's neighboring states, and other issues on which decisions have to be made, will be decided in the Chamber of Constitutive Units by a four-fifths majority of the total number of representatives in it.

3. The composition of the Bosnia-Hercegovina state organs of authority and of the judiciary will proportionally reflect the national composition of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

4. In order to resolve constitutional issues arising between the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities and the authority of the constitutive units, a special court will be established in which a neutral group outside Bosnia-Hercegovina and neighboring countries will work for not less than five years. This court will have one member each from every unit and an identical number of members from outside plus one. The court will adopt its decisions by a simple majority.

D. Constitutive Units

1. Constitutive units will be set up within the boundaries of Bosnia-Hercegovina as defined in paragraph E below.

2. The assembly and the government of the constitutive units, subject to every law of Bosnia-Hercegovina as specified above and according to procedures outlined

above, will have the power to pass laws and to administer issues of importance for the constitutive unit: the administration of services and officials of the constitutive unit, expropriation of property for public purposes, land registers, fire fighting service, chambers of commerce, supervision of cooperative trade organizations, of savings and credit institutions, of charity organizations, social security, sickness benefits, the preservation of historical, artistic, and cultural heritage, cultural institutions such as libraries, institutes, museums, the use of land, environmental protection, the housing industry and market, the road network, emergency services, mining, the hunting and fishing industry, natural resources, water supplies, the water industry, oil pipelines, transport within the constitutive unit, tourism, agriculture, forestry, social welfare, education, schools, police, trade and other aspects of economic policy, public safety, hygiene, sports and recreation, and other issues on which decision have to be made. Each constitutive unit will organize its own institutions. Each constitutive unit will be allowed to establish and maintain links with other republics and their organizations providing their relations and links are in accordance with the independence and integrity of Bosnia- Hercegovina.

3. All institutions (organs of authority, judiciary, etc.) to be established by the constitutive units will reflect proportionally the national composition of that particular constitutive unit.

4. Members of the peoples who constitute a minority in such a constitutive unit will enjoy a protection similar to that explained in Article 2 (3) of the draft Convention.

E. Definition of Constitutive Units

A working group will be established with the task of defining the territory of the constitutive unit based on nationality principles and by considering economic, geographic, and other criteria. A map based on an absolute or relative national majority in each municipality will serve as the foundation for the working group's activities and will be subject only to those changes and amendments which will be deemed justified within the meaning of the aforementioned criteria. A sample is attached to this statement.

F. Interim Steps

1. In accordance with the definition of the constitutive unit, with a view to future arrangements, and in consonance with paragraph E of this statement, a constitutional law to amend our constitution will be prepared and submitted to the Assembly as soon as possible. This law will have to be endorsed by popular referendum under international supervision.

This document is a basis for further negotiations.
Sarajevo, 18 March 1992

As agreed by the Democratic Action Party, the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Community leaders during the fifth round of negotiations on the future constitutional set up in Bosnia-Hercegovina under the aegis of the EC peace conference.

Mostar Political Parties Reach Agreement

AU1803203992 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Omer Vatric report from Mostar]

[Text] A meeting has just ended in the communal Assembly in Mostar at which a joint statement was adopted. This statement says: The representatives of the three national parties—the Serbian Democratic Party, the Party of Democratic Action, and the Croatian Democratic Community—held a meeting with a team of experts from the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs responsible for sorting out organizational and personnel problems in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Mostar.

It was established at the meeting that an analysis has been carried out and a comprehensive way was established of improving the situation in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Mostar, which was verified by Minister Delimustafic [Minister of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina]. The proposed program defines the obligation that Mr. Srebrenikovic, assistant minister for cadre affairs, and his colleagues should come to Mostar as soon as possible and, together with all interested parties, define personnel problems according to the existing interparty agreement.

A willingness was expressed at the meeting for all demands made by citizens on the barricades to be resolved in an ongoing process. As we assume that all problems can be resolved as soon as possible, we are calling on all citizens on the barricades to remove them and create conditions for the normal life and work of this town. This statement is signed by the presidents of the three national parties, the Serbian Democratic Party, the Party of Democratic Action, and the Croatian Democratic Community. I envisage that this will have a significant effect on calming the situation in Mostar and the beginning of the removal of all barricades.

Croatia

Kohl-Tudjman Agreement on Germans Return Reported

LD1803183992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 18 (TANJUG)—The return of some 387,000 ethnic Germans to areas they inhabited in the kingdom of Yugoslavia until the outbreak of World War Two, was one of the conditions the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia agreed to in order to receive Germany's support in its independence bid.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes today of the super secret agreement between German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman which foresees the return of ethnic Germans to the areas of Slavonija and Baranja (parts of Croatia which are predominantly Serb-populated) and to Vojvodina, an autonomous region in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Ethnic Germans settled in these areas during the time of the dual [word indistinct]-Hungarian monarchy which disintegrated during World War One.

Operation 'Great Return' is the result of activities by Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union's extreme rightists. Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble's offer of support for the realization of the return, indicates that this action has already received the green light in Germany, claims POLITIKA EKSPRES.

According to the Tudjman-Kohl agreement, ethnic Germans in Croatia would return to the towns of Daruvar and Pakrac in western Slavonija where they owned large estates until 1918. POLITIKA EKSPRES links the recent expulsion of [words indistinct] these areas with the purpose of returning these estates to their former owners, now living in Austria and Germany. Circles close to the CDU claim that a similar agreement has been made with Slovenia, and according to some information, Germany is turning increasingly towards the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which was also a part of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Germany is now trying to achieve dominance over Croatia together with Austria, which has growing appetites for the renewal of a new kind of Austro-Hungarian monarchy, writes POLITIKA EKSPRES.

Tomac Comments on International Recognition

92BA0630B Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 92 pp 16-17

[Interview with Dr. Zdravko Tomac, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, by Abdulah Seferovic in Zadar; date not given: "The Government Is Even Governing Too Much!"]

[Text] [Seferovic] Not only because this interview was conducted in Zadar, through which the first line of the front passes to some extent, but also because of the understandable interest of the public, the conversation with Dr. Zdravko Tomac could not begin without a question about the arrival of the blue helmets.

[Tomac] In this area they are coming only to the opstinas of Benkovac, Obrovac, and Knin.

[Seferovic] In the overlong wait for their arrival, the aggressor has been thoroughly devastating everything he occupied.

[Tomac] I know that he is abusing the truce. We are asking through international institutions that pressure be put on the Army and Serbia not to do what they are doing.

[Seferovic] And those institutions are sometimes accusing us of creating a state through war.

[Tomac] We must be realistic. The nonaligned, the United Nations, and the United States are exerting pressure and they want Serbia and Milosevic to make certain concessions. They want to save Serbia, but they are afraid of stabilization of an expanded Serbia. It is no accident that Lord Carrington has been in Serbia, nor was Baker's statement issued by accident on the eve of the session of the Serbian Assembly in which Milosevic spoke.

Milosevic Is Going to Rome

[Seferovic] It seems as though the United Stastes has begun to waver.

[Tomac] The United States is actually working both sides of the street. On the one hand, it is helping the opposition to weaken Milosevic, and when he gets weak, it helps him, provided that he accepts what is being asked of him. At the last moment it will be decided whether to save Milosevic or to support the opposition. It makes differing promises in that context. It speaks publicly about the need for a global solution, but then we hear stories from behind the scenes about how it will recognize Croatia, Macedonia, B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], and Slovenia within their present borders, while it would recognize Serbia and Montenegro as the remnant of Yugoslavia, provided that they recognize the independence of the other republics. Serbia would gain three very important things in that way....

[Seferovic] But not the occupied territory and an expanded Serbia!

[Tomac] Some kind of Yugoslavia and its continuity would be left for it. It would not have to seek international recognition and therefore adopt laws on the rights of ethnic minorities. The problem of Vojvodina and Kosovo would thereby be forgotten. In return, it would have to consent not to partition Bosnia and to give up the territory that it has occupied in Croatia. But because it dares not suddenly acknowledge this, with numerous statements, explanations, and postponement of a solution in Croatia it is creating conditions for everything to calm down together. Thus, one has heard the announcement that Milosevic is going to Rome and Jovanovic to Bonn.

[Seferovic] The United States has recently been counting a great deal on Turkey's role.

[Tomac] The United States counts a great deal on Turkey. By strengthening Turkey, it wants in a way to expand its influence on the Balkans, but also on the

Muslims in the former Soviet Union, fearing the excessive strengthening of Iran in this part of the world. That is why it left Saddam Husayn the way he is: to be some kind of balance. If it left him in the Near East, why not leave Slobodan Milosevic, the Balkan Saddam Husayn?

[Seferovic] But the role of Germany is inescapable.

[Tomac] It is obvious that Germany for the first time showed its political independence concerning the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. This does not suit some people in Europe, including the United States. That is why the role of Britain in the European Community, and here by way of Lord Carrington, must not be underestimated. What I mean is that we must be realistic and seek our own interests in all of these contradictions. We must be aware that in politics nothing is gained on the basis of justice and truth. Especially when the United States is involved. In the United States, you get nothing for nothing.

[Seferovic] Given that constellation of forces, what can be expected from the resumption of the peace conference?

[Tomac] There is no doubt that they will attempt to drive us once again into some loose alliance in the Balkans. That is why I think that it is very important for B-H, Slovenia, and Croatia to take advantage of the mood in central Europe, Italy, and Austria in favor of creating certain regional alliances. Croatia cannot remain alone, nor can it enter Europe alone.

Very Awkward Questions

[Seferovic] You mean to say that it must have many irons in the fire?

[Tomac] Any intelligent policy counts on a great many factors. It does not rely on only one country, one policy, and one conception. If we should operate skillfully in these contradictions of differing interests that are intertwined here, we can achieve an optimum solution. I will tell you how the Soviets behaved during the crisis in Kosovo. There was not a day that the Russian Embassy did not receive some Serbian delegation, but at the same time they issued an order to East Germany to deliver to Albania (with which the Soviets did not have diplomatic relations) everything it asked for. They were thus putting their bets on both Serbia and Albania at the same time, just as the Americans are now putting money not only on us, but also on our opponents.

[Seferovic] How ready are we to play that game?

[Tomac] We are hindered in this quite a bit by the renewed vacillation over the basic values that should be built into the foundations of the state. When Europe, which took our side, sees that vacillation (in both the incumbent party and the opposition) a sudden cooling takes place. I have felt that recently. Some of our friends are openly asking very awkward questions.

[Seferovic] Such as what?

[Tomac] Are we able to halt and surmount those tendencies, and can we as a government and as a society realize what they recognized us for?

[Seferovic] For what do they reproach us?

[Tomac] The toleration of things that are undemocratic, especially statements and announcements of politicians to the effect that we will now make some other kind of state, not one that would resemble Norway or Sweden. Or, certain strengthening of totalitarian tendencies, regardless of how strong they are. And then manifestations, from verbal to all the rest, which give a wrong picture of Croatia. They say: Many of your difficulties arise out of internal political instability; after recognition, you started an election campaign; you destabilized Croatia with regional, local, and other conflicts; thanks to certain actions of both the opposition and the incumbent party you have raised the issue of whether you still need the Democratic Unity government; you have begun to behave in a way that is not in keeping with the gravity of the problems.

[Seferovic] You, however, recently reproached De Michelis in Trieste by saying that the democratic forces of Croatia are being destabilized from outside.

[Tomac] It is the truth. The democratic forces in Croatia are being destroyed by the granting of concessions to Serbia through the interpretation of the peace plan. I told him: You are weakening us, because in that way you are strengthening the right and the totalitarian forces, which say that acceptance of the peacekeeping forces constitutes treason and capitulation. I also said that a mental complex is being created in Croatia to the effect that Serbia is winning and we are being defeated; in certain interpretations, the statement by Butrus Ghali and others provides the basis for Serbia's propaganda, which then has a destructive effect within Croatia.

A Balance of Power

[Seferovic] At the same time it cannot be said that the government has had good solutions concerning all the essential problems.

[Tomac] No, it has not. We have had both bad solutions and some that were less bad. In my assessment, the peacekeeping forces, for example, are the least bad solution. But we could not gain a better one in this situation.

[Seferovic] It is clear that we must expect compromises, but the question is how far they go.

[Tomac] Well, you see, one of those compromises is that we are trying to stabilize B-H as much as we can. I think that this is very essential to us. If Bosnia manages to stabilize as a sovereign state, then there is no danger whatsoever of losing any Croatian territory.

[Seferovic] Will the opposition remain in the government even if the election campaign begins too early, and this Adriatic trip of yours should probably be included as part of it?

[Tomac] You see, Kukoc in SLOBODNA compares me to a donkey that hauls for his master, and the master is the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], who always has the right, whenever he is angry, to give the donkey a whack. So, he says that the incumbent party is behaving improperly, especially toward me, who, it might be said, does not differ even in details from any HDZite in the government. However, I am trying to consistently conduct the policy of the SDP [Democratic Reform Party], under which we are in the Democratic Unity government, because we feel that we should unify all forces, from left to right, around the essential issues that were the reason for forming that government. I can tell you that in the immediate cabinet—three of whose members are from the HDZ, I am from the SDP, and there is one nonparty member—there has never been a case when any of us acted out of party considerations. That is in fact why we have gained some reputation as a government and have been able to resolve certain things.

[Seferovic] And the election campaign?

[Tomac] I think it is too early within the operation of the state, as weak as it is, to begin fierce political struggles.

[Seferovic] Will you be running for election?

[Tomac] No. I have said that I will not.

[Seferovic] To what extent is the Croatian government really governing?

[Tomac] Listen, the government is governing a great deal more than the people think. I think that the government is even governing too much and that it is time for it to urgently relieve itself of certain of its functions, because it simply is not good to have that kind of concentration of power. We will propose in the next session of the Assembly that they take away from us the right of legislative and executive power that we have by issuing decrees, although at one time I personally sought and even insisted that we be granted that right, because under wartime conditions we simply would not have been able to achieve what we have achieved.

[Seferovic] Many of those decrees of yours were bad, like the one about newsgathering, which is hanging here on the wall above your head as a memento to us newsmen.

[Tomac] That is a consequence of the state of our government administration. Croatia must make some spectacular moves in order to show the world that it is not vacillating over what kind of state it wants to have.

[Seferovic] Decrees like this one have done you much harm in that regard.

[Tomac] Most of them contain important restrictions, because the ministries say that they need them, and then no one has ever applied them. It has now turned out that those decrees indicate much greater lack of freedom in Croatia than is actually the case.

The Disaster of Political Suitability

[Seferovic] Nevertheless, a portion of the executive power does not lie in the government's jurisdiction.

[Tomac] The functions of the government are restricted in foreign affairs, defense, and internal affairs. Here, the president has certain powers. This is the so-called semi-presidential system in which the executive power is divided. But in practice that power is indeed greater, because he is also the president of the largest party, and it has a two-thirds majority in the Assembly. When all of that is taken together, this is really great power. But this government has helped greatly to establish a certain balance of power at the top. The government, however, does not have a well-built mechanism of authority that could help it to carry out its decisions effectively.

[Seferovic] You have said that a democratic state cannot be built on state ownership. In what way is it possible to avoid nationalization of the economy?

[Tomac] No one has offered a solution yet. Introvertedness prevails in our enterprises and banks. Even now, during this transformation of ownership, there are those who think it is best not to do anything, but to become a state enterprise as of 30 June. Just as we have a weak government administration, so we also have weak managers. If 90 percent of our economy becomes state property, then there is no democracy, then we are going back to the one-party system, to political suitability or unsuitability. And the appointment of people to management positions on the basis of political suitability means disaster.

[Seferovic] Does that mean that we are not ready to react to the financial offers, for example, from Italy?

[Tomac] I am afraid that here again we are working without a strategy. There are several types of capital in Italy. Croatia is now being offered capital of the Socialists, of the Christian Democrats, and of the former Communists. We have to be open to all those offers. This will be evidence of our separating the economy from politics. I would even advise that we rely on as many countries as possible.

[Seferovic] But it is difficult for us to accept the offers.

[Tomac] Very difficult. They are offering us, say, experts gratis. The government notified opstinas of this, but still no answer has come back. The state is just as incompetent as the economy. However, it is symptomatic that this is the first time that any newsman has asked me about the future. Not because others might not have thought of it, but because up to now there simply has not been the time nor the opportunity for that, nor any interest on our part to talk about anything except the war, those who have been driven out, the casualties,

ammunition, weapons.... I think that Croatia has potential, but the problem lies in organization, in how to involve the silent majority, which knows what it wants, and how to change the balance of power in Croatia.

[Box, p 16]

Democratic Unity Party

[Tomac] I think we ought to invest most in personnel development, in the use of the human potential from outside. Plevnik was right the other day when he said in SLOBODNA that we need civilized European people who think in terms of European standards, apart from the ideological divisions into left and right.

In the government we get numerous letters from people calling for the cabinet to immediately form a democratic unity party, which with a program of Europeanization, democratization, the market, and orientation toward the future would rally an immense number of people—I would say the most valuable minds and experts—who are disappointed in all the parties.

People are coming to feel that a new movement must be created. We have had a movement for the Croatian state, and it will complete its function. Now we need a movement for democratization, for the market, for Europe, for standards, for civilization, and against balkanization.

[Box, p 16]

The Zadar Lobby

[Seferovic] There is increasingly frequent talk about various lobbies and their influence in Zagreb.

[Tomac] The lobbies are not a problem. They will always exist. The Zadar lobby, the Split lobby....

[Seferovic] Don't tell me, did I hear you correctly? A Zadar lobby?

[Tomac] Why not? When two of you from Zadar sit down in Rome and the Vatican, that will be some lobby! But I said that the lobbies are not the problem. When someone wrote about me that I act like an HDZite, then I would like to know what kind of HDZite that is. Listening to two HDZites from Zadar in the Assembly, I got the impression that these are not only two currents of one party, but two completely different policies. And in my own party there are people who would hang me if they could. In a democratic society there are institutions and there is a parliament. I tell my students: The parliament is folklore, this is a place where people babble while the decisions are made in certain structures.

[Box, p 17]

An Unrealistic Frame of Mind

[Tomac] A completely unrealistic frame of mind is being created in our country to the effect that the entire world is on our side and that Serbia has been left alone and isolated and that once Croatia is recognized, everything will have been completed, so that then we could hold the ceremonies and celebrations, initiate a struggle for power in a state when we still have not gone even halfway in officially establishing something so that we could say that we have a state.

We have gained a state, and we will not lose it, but we still need a great deal of unity on key issues. There must be consensus on whether we want the peacekeeping forces or not, on whether we can liberate the territory by force or we must accept the peacekeeping forces with all the limitations that they signify. There must be no differences over that. We must also agree on what we need to do in order to have a democratic, law-governed, market-oriented, and pluralistic state; what kind of ownership we must have (a democratic state cannot be built on state ownership), and whether we want a civil, secular, or Christian state.

Serbs Reported Expel Croats From Village

LD1803160492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Report from Slavoski Samac by Vladimir Fajgl]

[Excerpts] Early this afternoon a group of 147 expellees from Tomojevci and Sarengrad near Vukovar left this Slavonian village on the River Sava for Zagreb. The total of expellees was 154 but seven have found accommodation with relatives. Throughout yesterday they were picked up from their own homes, fields, orchards, and vineyards where they were attending to their daily business by Serbs from Vocin, Podravska Slatina, Daruvar, and Kusonje, and moved by the occupation army to Tompojevci and Sarengrad. The criminals looted their houses and took all their money, gold, and wristwatches.

Before being moved they all had to sign a statement that they were voluntarily any pressure or threats, and that they wanted to settle down on Croatian territory. [passage omitted] Many of them bear witness to further harassment and persecution of Croats in Tompojevci and Sarengrad, and a similar fate would appear to be in store for the Croats in Mikleusevci, Negoslavci and other occupied villages in Eastern Slavonija.

Croatian Warships Enter Hvar Port

LD1803160692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The people of Hvar will remember today as the day when Croatian navy ships sailed into their town for the first time. Flying the Croatian flag, three warships sailed into the port of Hvar: a missile corvette [raketna topovnjaca], a missile gunboat [raketni camac], and a minesweeper [minolovac]. The population of the island welcomed them enthusiastically.

Social Liberal Party on JNA Withdrawal

92BA0635D Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 92 p 4

[Article by I.G.: "Will the 'Yugoslav Army' Withdraw?"]

[Text] Kutina—"Croatia faces major political trials because the arrival of the 'blue helmets' in the portion of territory now occupied will not restore Croatian authority there nor the legal order of the Republic of Croatia, and there is some question of whether those driven out will return to their homes," said Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS] in a public discussion in Kutina.

Speaking to an overflowing auditorium in the political party center, Budisa said that the UN document appeared to have been dictated by Milosevic and Babic, and we should therefore expect further efforts of Serbian policy to transfer the problem of the former Yugoslavia from the forum of the European Community to the United Nations.

About the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the HSLS president said that the authorities there have shown, by giving in to the blackmail of the Serbian Democratic Party, that the state does not exist there. Tomorrow we can expect three Serbian states on the space of the former Yugoslavia, because it is uncertain when the Yugoarmy will withdraw, and its withdrawal has been left to agreement between the United Nations and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, with no participation on the part of the Croatian authorities, Budisa said.

Macedonia

JNA Barracks in Skopje Handed Over

LD1803175292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—The barracks Goce Delcev in Skopje and Mirce Acev in Prilep, the Krivolak army training grounds near Kavadarci, as well as nine border outposts on the border with Albania, were today handed over to the Macedonian Territorial Defense. The handover ceremony, with the usual exchange of flags on the mast, took place without incident. The biggest barracks in Skopje, Marshal Tito, and the Petrovac military airport are expected to be taken over by the Macedonian armed forces on Friday 20 March.

Ministry Registers Democratic Party of Serbs

LD1903100592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2343 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, Mar 18 (TANJUG)—Today, after a several-month-long delay, Macedonia's ministry of home affairs registered the Skopje-seated Democratic Party of Serbs (DPS) in Macedonia. The new Party is entitled to activity in the territory of this seceding Republic in the southeastern Yugoslavia, the ministry decided.

The DPS is the first political party of Serbs in Macedonia in which some 45,000 ethnic Serbs live. So far, the local Serbs have twice asked that their Party be registered, but both times had their admission refused on various pretexts, including the one that involved is a one-nationality party.

In Macedonia, nevertheless, two parties of ethnic Albanians and other nationality parties had been registered with no difficulties a long time ago. Ethnic Albanians' parties even won parliamentary elections in municipalities in which ethnic Albanians make up the majority of population and have their representatives in this Republic's parliament.

Serbia

Government Announces Food Price Increases

LD1803214692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2050 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 18 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has decided to raise the prices of basic food items such as milk, oil, flour, bread and sugar between 46.0 and 83 percent, it was announced at a news conference in Belgrade tonight. According to Trade and Tourism Minister Sava Vlajkovic, milk went up 83 and oil 49 percent. The price of bread went up 54 percent, sugar 47 and flour between (?45) and 48 percent. Vlajkovic recalled that the Serbian government had maintained prices at a controlled level for a month and a half although inflation during this period stood at around 60 percent. Prices of basic food items went up, he further elaborated, as a result of the recent hike in the price of oil derivatives. Vlajkovic particularly underscored that 90 to 130 percent price hikes were demanded, but that the government rejected them.

Assembly Official on Foreign Policy Activities

AU1803175092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Despite Serbia's relatively unfavorable image, opportunities are expanding for better understanding of our position and interests. This was said at a news conference by Dr. Aleksandar Prlja, president of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Assembly of Serbia, announcing several visits by republican parliamentary delegations, primarily to the Czech lands and Greece. Dragan Stavljanin has a report:

[Begin recording] [Stavljanin] Dr. Aleksandar Prlja backed up his claim about better understanding of Serbia's position with the example of the recent visit to Serbia by a NATO delegation, which pointed out in its reports our republic's readiness to strengthen cooperation with international factors.

In his opinion, the recent visit by Borivoje Petrovic, vice president of the Serbian Assembly, to the United States

resulted in hints at the renewal of regular contacts with certain United States Congressmen. A Serbian parliamentary delegation will repay a visit to the Czech lands, which, among other things, is where the CSCE is based, in order to once again demonstrate our republic's readiness to operate in line with international norms and in this context promote the position of minorities, Aleksandar Prlja stressed.

A delegation from the Serbian Assembly will soon travel to Greece. He also expressed satisfaction with talks with the opposition front in Hungary. Indeed, last night's statement by the Hungarian Government in which it blames Serbia for supposedly undermining the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina is not in the spirit of good neighborly cooperation, Prlja thought.

[Prlja] On the latest occasion last night, some interpretations appeared on the supposed endangerment of members of the ethnic Hungarian minority and their unresolved status in Serbia [word indistinct] Vojvodina. We consider this to be a mistake in judging the situation and in information—and I will not say something worse—but in any case, this is something that has nothing at all to do with the reality of the lives of the members of the Hungarian ethnic minority on the territory of Serbia.

[Stavljanin] In reply to a question from journalists on what will happen with 25,000 ethnic Hungarian citizens of Serbia who ran away to escape mobilization, Prlja said that this is not within the jurisdiction of Serbia but that of Yugoslavia and will be resolved as part of the problems arising from a lack of response to the mobilization of citizens of Serbian and other nationalities.

Since a parliamentary delegation of Serbia is a multiparty delegation, cooperation is also multiparty cooperation. Aleksandar Prlja, president of the Foreign Policy Committee of the republican Assembly, said that there are different stands but they are not so diverse that they would undermine the dignity and interests of Serbia in talks with foreign partners. [end recording]

Europe's 'New German Giant' Feared

92BA0630A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 92 p 9

[Article by Dr. Aleksandar Prlja]

[Text] The increasingly frequent reflections about the partition of Serbia and Serbian territory in the democratic republics of the West are a simply irresistible occasion for reflection about double political standards. Should this be expressed in Europe's practical politics over the long run, it would threaten far-reaching consequences.

Serbia is now being spoken about in various countries, especially those colored by Catholicism, as a country that should be further partitioned. Various arguments are used, mostly semihistorical: Vojvodina was never a part of Serbia; Sandzak cannot remain in Serbia; Kosovo, true enough, was never part of Albania, but that does not matter: The argument used there is that the Skipetar population, once Kosovo is taken from Serbia (!), represents a convincing majority.

The argument that is made in one case is taken as the main argument in the other case when the reference is to a different part of the territory of one and the same Serbia. The leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], we believe, was not sufficiently mindful of the extent to which his "reflections" on the cantonal arrangement of Vojvodina coincided with the increasingly clear pressures from abroad for organization of Vojvodina and other parts of Serbia.

The double political standard in these pressures is clear. When any historical analysis in Kosovo and around it is mentioned, this is immediately taken in a segment of the democratic European public as a sentimental and unrealistic effort to pull in historical explanations that can no longer move anyone today. This, says a segment of Europe's democratic public, belongs to nationalistic discussions from earlier centuries, especially the 19th. What we need today is a Europe without borders, or almost without: Europe, modernism, tolerance, a fight for human rights across borders, integration in the broadest sense. History in this case is no longer particularly important. Arguments drawn from the historical archives, however accurate they might be, do not meet the requirements of the present-day organization of the continent. We must move to a higher level....

Yet on the other hand, when the discussion concerns Vojvodina or Sandzak, everything is based by and large on quasi-historical arguments! If one were to point to the actual ethnic composition of that part of Serbia...then the destruction of integrity that simply leaps from the eyes of certain pretentious neighbors from the north, but also from democratic Europe at large, would become quite groundless. The double political standard here is simply glaring.

So here they resort to certain historical—adapted, of course—arguments, and the ethnic composition is completely pushed aside! At the same time, wherever the ethnic composition in this historical phase does not suit the Serbs (Kosovo), all the historical roots and features are pushed aside as something altogether unnecessary and insignificant. It is not important that Kosovo is the true heart of Serbia and the Serbs. It is not important that even today there is no name on its surface that is not Serb, none which has an Albanian root! Nor is it of importance that all the cultural monuments have exclusively Serbian features. Nothing has importance if it would fit in with strengthening the integrity of Serbia.

It is quite easy not only to detect the double standard in all this, but even to follow it. What belongs to Jupiter does not, of course, belong to the ox, as they said in

ancient Rome. Under the heading of "transnational," everything is actually being subjected to political reassessment and pressure.

To tell the truth, we have already become a bit accustomed to that. We have become accustomed to having our airplanes and trucks in that modern Europe, especially in Italy and Germany—those driving forces of the "new Europe"—blocked and halted. Because we have been so recalcitrant (!), we should also feel the power and punishment of the advanced democratic world. Serbia must be "cooperative."

By contrast, for instance, with the United Nations and their negotiators, the Serbs and Serbia are not to put such emphasis on possible separate—including governmental and territorial—rights of the Serbs in the krajinas, although they are a portion of a constituent nationality there. They must accept a unilateral dictate, a triumph of muscles that have become so strong after four or five decades of enforced disuse and collapse in the last war. Only then can Serbia obtain legitimacy for exporting its food and other goods to advanced Europe.

We write these lines at precisely the moment when at great speed, in spite of everything, the realization spreads that the recent war in Yugoslavia nevertheless would not have occurred if in May 1990 a democratic election in Croatia had not put in power a regime that every responsible person should have feared while it was still conducting its election campaign on the well-known slogans about the "rights" of the Serbs! While it is becoming clearer and clearer to the world that democracy does not exist, to put it mildly, nor can it become a feature of a regime like the present Croatian regime, the pressures are also mounting.... But the pressures are mainly on Serbia. It is the one that is not singing "Danke, Deutschland," regardless of how much it otherwise understands the importance of the new German giant in all respects. It is to be pushed aside, torn to pieces. Any pretext will do, even when the excuses are diametrically opposed to one another.

As the truth about Serbia's policy—in which at this moment there is truly very little that can be reproached—makes its way, Europe is swept by such diverse winds that all those who are so happy to engage in partitioning and evoking risky arguments for new divisions and blockades ought at least to give it some serious thought. What is happening on the soil of what until recently was the Russian empire and the USSR in and of itself is having a very exciting and disturbing impact. What is coming awake in the bowels of Central Europe looks different, but it certainly is not always aimed at achieving peace and a lasting order without borders.

What is more, borders are not something "so important and significant" when it is Serbia's borders being discussed. All of a sudden they become decisively significant and important—when the discussion concerns the borders of Croatia, which were imposed and were never verified! All the rights of the German population in Italy can be guaranteed through respect for all possible charters. However, try to raise the issue of Italian sovereignty itself over the southern Tyrol! We do not advise this to anyone who wants any kind of friendly relations with neighboring Italy. Yesterday, we read in the columns of our newspaper the wire service report on the speech by Luigi Pretti, leader of the Italian Social Democrats. All of his comparisons and arguments are not something with which we identify, but they are of unquestionable interest to our topic of the double political standard in democratic Europe.

"The task of the EC," Mr. Pretti says, "was to prevent the destruction of Yugoslavia, but it has been stupidly favoring grotesque divisions that will be harmful to the Balkan peninsula and to Europe. Those small states will not be able to live decently." What is more, Mr. Pretti also draws other parallels and refers to other ambiguities: "The stupid thesis that the Macedonians can decide in a referendum to separate from the existing state with whose peoples they have a single history, has already caused a mutiny in Great Britain, because now Scotland and Wales want to secede. Much the same will soon happen with the Basques (France and Spain), and then also in Alto Adige (Southern Tyrol), which will cause difficult problems for Italy."

We have intentionally quoted at length from this interesting admonition, if only because the double standard does not apply only to geographic and territorial concepts. In this time of pressures and trials being imposed on the Balkans, not only on Serbia—while the shooting echoes with perhaps disastrous omens in Bosnia—the double standard in the behavior of the most highly developed part of Europe is simply striking in everyday life. It is not always a question here of something that we must immediately attack. Phenomena uncomfortable for introduction of policy on behalf of the most highly developed European democracies deserve to be mentioned, mostly to point out that what is being unilaterally proclaimed as the leading principle for certain far-off generations—but which can be respected—is not for immediate application. They should not, therefore, be unilaterally and so brutally, with ultimatums, forced upon others who are weaker: on those in the Balkans, for instance, where only Serbia has always had the potential and real role of a power and state of some significance.

While the highest ethnical principles are being proclaimed in the name of Europe and its respect for decent institutions in Strasbourg, a quite recent press release of the German Government reveals that the number of attacks on foreigners on German soil has increased to an average of about 200 per month. The number of such attacks increased tenfold during 1991! At the same time, the number of extreme rightwingers in Europe who feed on xenophobia has grown quite suddenly. Everyone is afraid now of their influence on the upcoming parliamentary elections. In Brescia, in the advanced Italian north, the movement against migrants received the

highest percentage of votes in history last fall. In elections in Belgium last November, the Flemish antimigrant bloc obtained more than a fourth of the votes in otherwise traditionally cosmopolitan Antwerp. Recently, in France a third of those asked in a carefully conducted survey indicated that they supported the arguments of the National Front and its leader Jean Marie Lepin, who is disastrous from the standpoint of democracy. In Maastricht, last December the governments of the European Community created new additional criteria for the immigration and transit of foreigners from the East. This is understandable to some extent. West Europe cannot all of a sudden turn itself into a country providing asylum to the millions, tens of millions, of people who want a peaceful life, work, and freedom.

However, because of all this we must nevertheless become concerned about a policy that can be conducted under pressure from outside. That policy closes its eyes to many real dangers. For that matter, the pressures are not in the spirit of what we all together aspire to, all of us together, at least in what we say. The hasty redrawing of borders and territories, with aggressive external alliances, can in no way purge Europe of the sediments of the past and the risks that are so bound up in them. Is there any need to assure ourselves of this once again, 55 years after the historic misunderstanding in Munich?

Concern was also felt the day before yesterday in the speech the French president made in Paris, which was very much noted. Speaking in a seminar, Mitterrand said that "Europe must organize very quickly because it is going through a period of worsened relations typical of contradictions and interethnic conflicts." Rightly disturbed, Mitterrand now says that the desire for "every group or tribes to have its own laws, ignoring those of the broader community," is particularly unacceptable.

Advocating a specific confederal organization and arrangement of Europe, Mitterrand again particularly addressed the United Nations, not only the European Community. In those reflections, one felt reserve toward the group imposition of will from outside, to whatever extent the destiny of France has in this generation been bound up with Germany. By the nature of things, the universal organization takes a broader view of what is happening, and also of the EC itself.

In it, it is difficult to be so engaged in the pragmatic effort to win directly, which is the case with certain aspects of the Balkan policy of Germany and the EC at the moment. There is less of a feel of the double standard, the existence of two standards used in the conduct of policy.

This is important to note, especially in connection with Yugoslavia or what is left of it. The policy of a double standard has never brought a permanent solution at any time down through the length of European history.